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OUR LAWS AND OUR POOR.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE LAW,
THE ORPHAN'S WRONG,
AND
JUST PRINCIPLES OF PUNISHMENT,

BY

FRANCIS PEEK,

*Member of the School Board for London, and Chairman of the Society
for Promoting the Boarding-out of Pauper Orphans.*

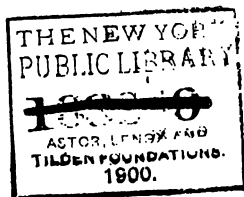
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P R E F A C E.

IN publishing this little book, the writer hopes it may in some measure accomplish two things ; first, that it may induce some benevolent men and women, now hesitating as to their vocation in life, to cast in their lot with the many workers who, while differing in forms of faith and much beside, are yet united in one great desire, viz., to resist the progress of those mighty powers of evil, which day by day are degrading, crushing into misery, and destroying so many of our fellow creatures ; strewing our paths with human wrecks, on which it is difficult to look *without* pain and humiliation, if we

contrast what they are, with what, but for bad social customs, bad laws, and selfish neglect, they might have been.

Secondly, the writer hopes that it may enable many of those, who from warm-hearted benevolence, have thrown themselves into the struggle to realise, that in this, as in every other good work, there is the necessity for self-restraint, wise foresight and much earnest thought, if they would avoid justifying, in some measure at least, the bitter sarcasm of a late cynical writer, "that a great part of the work of the wise, is to correct the evil effects resulting from the efforts of the good." Written as the book has been in the midst of a busy commercial life, the author fears it can claim but little literary merit, but the facts brought forward which have all *been gathered* from reliable sources are such

as may well arrest the attention of the most careless, and he trusts that his reflections on them, the result of some study and thought, may not be valueless.

The publication of these essays has been unavoidably delayed, and some of the *statistics* given are not the very latest, but this does not at all effect the arguments in them. Since they went to press the Government has made an effort to deal with two of the evils of which they treat, viz., in "The Artizans' Dwellings Bill," and the "Bill to improve the law as regards offences against the person." The writer welcomes these as steps in the right direction, though he believes much stronger measures will be necessary before the evils are corrected.

To the memory of the philanthropists who have gone before ; who, like Howard, and Mrs. Fry, now rest from their labours,

whose works follow them, while the blessings of their labours still remain with us.—To the living; who, like the Earl of Shaftesbury, and many others less known, but not less honourable, bear upon their hearts the woes of their fellow men.—To those in the future; who, like Vich Alpine's clansmen shall snatch from their brethren's failing hands, the fiery cross which summons to the conflict—this book is dedicated, in the hope that it may be the means of adding some recruits to the militant band of those who think, and feel, and work for others.

OUR LAWS AND OUR POOR.



PAGE

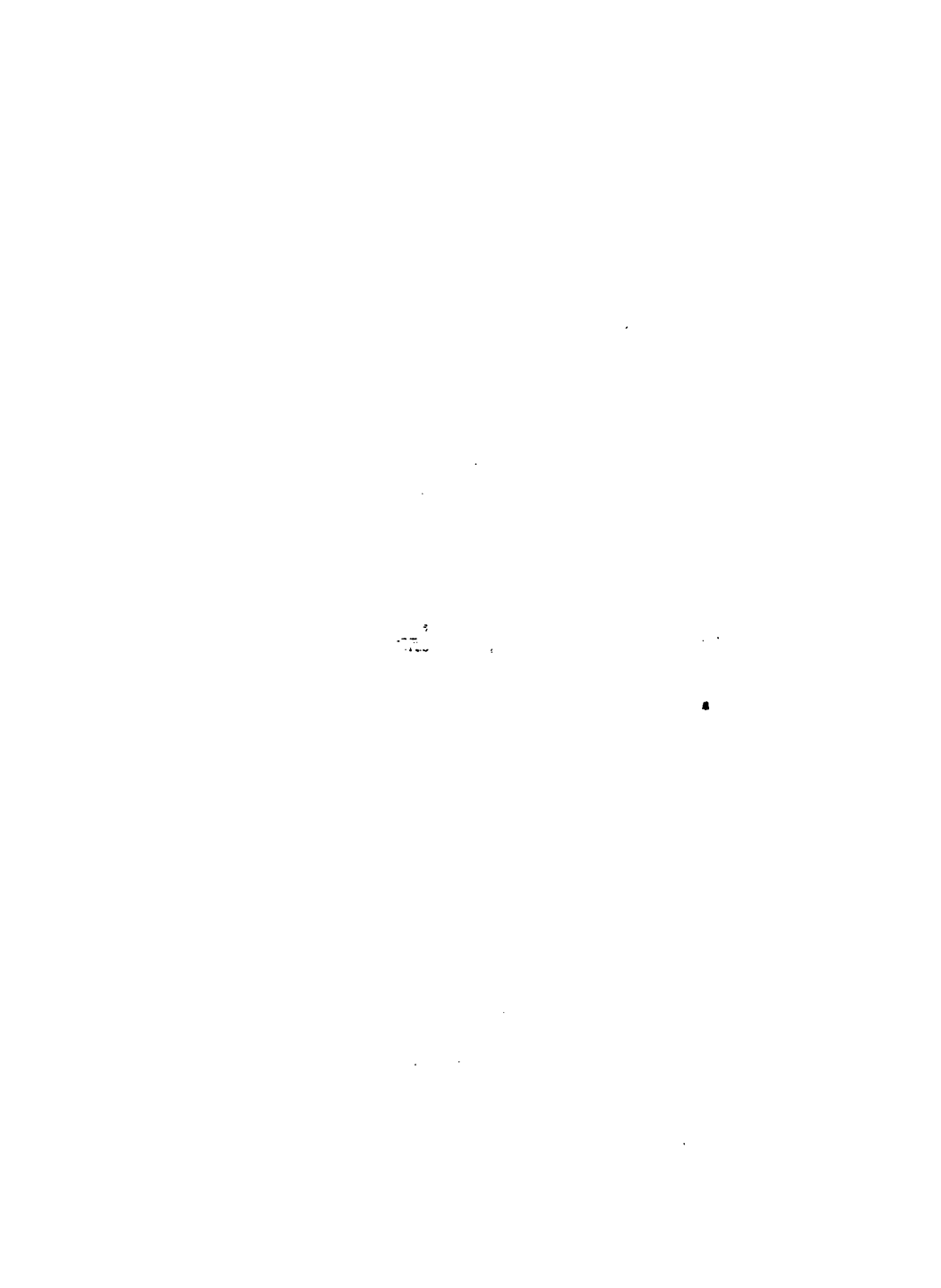
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THE INFLUENCE OF THE LAW.



I.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE LAW.

THERE is scarcely an assertion more common than that "We cannot make men virtuous by Act of Parliament," and this phrase is generally regarded as embodying an ascertained fact. Without at present controverting this statement or pausing to examine how much of truth and how much of illusion may be contained in it, it is proposed rather to show that whether or not good laws fail to influence for good, it is most indisputable that unjust and inadequate laws exert a *powerful influence* for evil. Wherever bad

laws prevail their effect becomes painfully evident in the moral condition of the community ; and our own country unhappily affords an illustration of this fact in the condition of those large masses of our poor, who are living in such a state of vice and degradation, that they are at once a disgrace and danger to the commonwealth. It is impossible for any thoughtful mind carefully to consider certain aspects of the present social condition of England notwithstanding its material prosperity, without feeling that there is great cause for anxiety and regret. The never ceasing contest between labour and capital, the separation which exists and seems to increase between the different classes of society, the painful contrast of extreme poverty and extreme luxury which everywhere meets the eye, are sources of danger which it would be folly to overlook or ignore.

The present appears to be a most favourable time for directing earnest attention to these subjects. The prosperity of the country is at its flood, the tide of pauperism has begun to ebb; now, therefore, if ever, is an opportunity to be seized, for searching out the hidden causes of such a constantly existing mass of misery and crime over which all true patriots mourn, before a period of severe commercial depression returns, and our attention and energies become entirely absorbed in meeting the pressing claims of the moment.

Two startling returns have been recently published. The first was headed "Deaths from Starvation in London," and recorded that in the central division of Middlesex, in the heart of the richest city in the world, verdicts returned by coroner's juries declared starvation to be the cause of 83 deaths in one year. Had these poor creatures been

shipwrecked mariners perishing on some desolate island, or sunk beneath the waves, the press would have been filled with harrowing details, and a thrill of horror would have passed through the land; but as they were cut down at our doors through mere destitution in the midst of abundance, the fact is hardly noticed; no imaginative descriptions are given of the gnawing agony through which they must have passed, or of the ravenous glances that must have shot from their hungry eyes as they lingered before the well-filled shops, and then shrank back to their gloomy hovels to die.

The second return is that published by the Local Government Board in May last, from which it appears that on the 1st of January, 1874, there were 883,688 paupers in England and Wales, out of a population of about 23,000,000; or, in other words, that in Eng-

land at the present time of great prosperity and general diffusion of wealth, notwithstanding the immense sums given away in so-called charity, and the energy with which numberless religious and benevolent societies are at work, and notwithstanding that the demand for labour seems to have overtaken the supply, yet still out of every twenty-seven of our fellow-countrymen one is a pauper; and this return does not include any of those among the poor who are maintained by private benevolence or in charitable institutions. That this state of things is disgraceful to our legislation, pregnant with danger to the well-being of the community, and that it demands instant and urgent attention cannot be doubted.

In considering the causes of the misery and pauperism that exists, it must be admitted that the present generation is not primarily,

responsible. We suffer the penalty of the past, of that sad period in our history when England, though victorious abroad, was sunk in selfishness at home ; when light, cleanliness, and even the dry crust of the starving peasant, were taxed to the utmost to meet the necessities of the State ; when pensions and sinecures abounded, and the reckless debts of prodigal princes were liberally voted by an obsequious Parliament, though even the poor weaver's rush-light was taxed to find the money. The period also when, in country districts, the farmers, in their capacity of Guardians of the Poor, were accustomed lavishly to vote away the public money in the demoralising form of parish relief, and thus to supplement the wages of their under-paid labourers. By this means they did indeed succeed in obtaining an unjust subsidy for their

own workpeople at the ratepayers' expense, but at the cost of so pauperising whole districts that the independent labourer ceased to exist. The period when, with the view of escaping local taxation and dishonestly shifting the rates upon their neighbours, many landed proprietors made wholesale clearances of cottages off their estates and drove the peasants from their homes to herd together in overcrowded villages, where, too often, they lost both health and self-respect, and became fit subjects for the workhouse and the gaol. These crimes, it must be acknowledged, are the source from which a large proportion of our existing pauperism has sprung.

But though the primary responsibility may rest upon the past, the present generation has no cause for self-satisfaction. Wealth, intelligence, and freedom are now the cha-

racteristics of our country, where formerly poverty, prejudice, ignorance, and practical serfdom were wont to prevail. Shameful, therefore, will it be if the evils bequeathed us by the unfortunate past are not at least mitigated in the prosperous present.

In reviewing the causes of our widely-spread pauperism, the first conclusion that forces itself upon us is, that it arises, to a large extent, from reckless marriages and subsequent improvidence. Men and women marry imprudently without forethought, and, when married, make no effort in periods of prosperity to provide for hard times or old age.

It is a melancholy fact that the law itself creates much of this recklessness and improvidence. With all the influence which it exercises, the law of the land teaches that every man and every woman is entitled to be sup-

plied with the necessities of life out of the public funds; and as a result it has become a maxim among the lower classes that self-denial is folly; since, however wicked, improvident, or idle a man may be, though he may have spent liberal wages in dissipation, yet so soon as he has spent all, and begins to be in want, he can claim as his legal right, that his frugal and industrious neighbours shall be made to support his family and himself, and to place him in at least as much comfort as the most provident labourer can ever hope to secure by his own exertions.

It is often very difficult to trace out clearly the indirect influence of the law. Except where manifestly unjust, or strongly opposed to natural feeling, it speedily, among the more uneducated classes, becomes the law of conscience. What the law forbids is

crime; what the law allows is honourable; and thus it comes to be looked upon as no dishonour, for the ordinary labouring man to omit making any provision for the future, and at the first moment of necessity to throw himself upon the rates. Dr. Chalmers, on this account, strongly opposed the introduction of the poor-law into Scotland, foreseeing that it would deteriorate the provident character of the people, for which they had been so noted; and his foresight has proved only too correct. The injurious influence of the poor-law was illustrated in a remarkable manner a short time ago in a small country town. A benevolent gentleman of influence in the neighbourhood was anxious to establish a provident savings' bank and called a meeting of the working classes with a view to enlist their co-operation. He urged upon them the duty of saving during the period

of health and strength for times of sickness and old age, and at first appeared to carry the meeting with him. At length, however, a labourer rose and asked to be informed whether, in case he should give up his beer and by constant industry and application save sufficient to keep himself and wife, when no longer able to work in the necessities of life, he would thereby be placed in any better position than another man who spent everything he had earned on himself, and then claimed parochial relief? Of course no advantage was or could be shown, and the philanthropist's scheme fell to the ground. This simple incident, is very suggestive of the evil influence which the poor-law has exerted, and still exerts, upon the working classes. They assert the right to spend all they earn without concern for the future, and feel neither shame in

claiming, nor gratitude in receiving, the sustenance to which the law declares them entitled.

The first step, therefore, necessary to reduce the mass of pauperism is to undo the effect of the past teaching of the law, and to introduce a healthier sentiment, by a legal recognition of the indisputable truth, that improvidence is a crime, that it is a dishonourable thing to marry without a reasonable prospect of being able to maintain a family, and that it is still a greater wrong to squander on self-indulgence those resources, which should be husbanded against times of stress and difficulty; that, in fact, to require of our neighbours to tax their hard-earned money for the support of our family, when by proper industry and self-denial we could have sufficed for ourselves, is practical dishonesty. It is of the first importance, both

for the benefit of the working classes and for the good of the community at large, that this feeling should take the place of that, which at present prevails with a large proportion of the poor, and leads them so cheerfully to acquiesce in pauperism. To produce this effect the law must be so administered, as to do away with the demoralising influence necessarily produced, by the spectacle of the idle, the drunken, the vicious, and the improvident securing in their old age, a provision equal in comfort to that enjoyed by the most diligent and deserving.

It must, however, be admitted that it is by no means easy to accomplish this, for to do so, it is necessary for the law to be administered with great discrimination, and that the guardianship of the poor shall be undertaken by persons who possess both judgment and benevolence, both sagacity and sym-

pathy, who will give time and care to their duties, sifting the cases that come before them and making character and not mere destitution the grand qualification for obtaining out-door relief; and, as a first step, it is necessary that this kind of relief should be limited to cases of temporary necessity, or to those whose life has been blighted by *unavoidable* misfortune. In such cases it should be liberal in amount, and generously bestowed, without any humiliating conditions; but in all other cases the restraint and degradation of the workhouse, are as necessary to prevent imposition, as they are to enforce lessons of prudence and frugality.

The want of proper discrimination in the management of our poor-law relief is one of the worst defects of the present system; it begins in the workhouse nurseries and schoolrooms, where the orphan children

of the deserving poor are herded with the children of the refuse of society; it is continued among the able-bodied, when the virtuous widow is sent to pick oakum among the most degraded of her sex; it extends even to the death-bed, where the poor invalid who, to save herself from such a fate, has worked till she could work no longer, and starved till she could starve no longer, is carried from her wretched home to linger out life's last hours in a bed, on each side of which may lie depraved wretches whose every word is foulness or blasphemy. A lady, writing on the necessity for workhouse visitation, from personal observation, thus describes the terrible sufferings of the really deserving, through lack of more discriminating treatment:—"Many of the sick have been discharged from hospitals as incurables; unable to work, they have nowhere to go

but to the workhouse, suffering often from acute disease, they have none of the alleviations which are found in the well-appointed hospitals. Aware they will never be able to work again, they have to bear the degradation of becoming paupers; the life now left them must be worn out in pauper's dress and under a pauper's treatment; they must suffer from, and be subjected to a law, framed to deter the idle and the vagrant, but never intended for such as themselves. Many of the very aged people have worked till their utmost strength was exhausted, to keep out of this hated place; and when they are here at last, the degradation they suffer in finding themselves associated with depraved creatures, and often placed under their care, is, to many, the saddest part of all they suffer."

Among the most interesting of the cases

visited by this lady was one of a pious, respectable woman, once the happy wife of an upright, hard-working mechanic, who, after a time, had fallen into intemperate habits, and become an idle, degraded drunkard. For a period of eighteen years she had borne the pain and misery entailed upon her, by one of his acts of cruelty when in a fit of drunkenness. Still she had toiled and kept house for him as long as her strength remained, but at last it broke down; she was dying of cancer, and in sickness and old age, nothing was left for this noble woman but a bed in the workhouse. Her horror of such a fate was intense. The two things she dreaded most, and which are most dreaded by all the respectable poor, were the pauper nurses, and the heedless mingling of the vilest characters with the respectable sick. One or two of these vile men or

women in a room will render the lives of the rest unbearable.*

There is no doubt that it is upon the principle of discrimination that the reform of the poor-law must begin. If we desire to suppress vagrancy and imposture, to cut off the entail of pauperism, to save the honest industrious man or woman from degradation, when obliged from sickness or accident to seek parish aid, and at the same time duly to enforce that maxim which lies at the foundation of all well organised society, "that if a man will not work, neither shall he eat." If we intend to show mercy and kindness to the deserving in their time of sickness and decrepitude, and simultaneously to impress upon the poor the important lesson, that

* "Sick and in Prison," published by Bell and Daldy. (A most excellent work.)

society demands to the utmost extent frugality and industry from all its members; then we must begin by requiring, that all relief, whether parochial or voluntary, shall be bestowed with strict and careful discrimination; and to effect this, it will, in the first place, be requisite to subdivide, for the purpose of administration, many of our overgrown parishes and unions which are at present quite unworkable. The following account of the manner in which relief is administered in some unions discloses a state of things almost beyond belief.

The report of the Local Government Board for 1874 states—"The time occupied in disposing of applications for relief by the guardians differs in different unions; the maximum of speed appears to be a rate of four minutes to dispose of eleven cases, nearly three cases per minute, the minimum

three minutes per case."—Local Government Report, p. 152.

Of course it is simply impossible that anything like proper discrimination can be exercised under such circumstances, and as a consequence, pauperism and imposture flourish; and the deserving poor suffer miserably both in body and mind. It may be argued that the examination of these cases rests with the relieving officers; but even if this is admitted, still the Guardians are useless, unless they supervise their officers; in fact, however, the investigation supposed to be made by the relieving officers is altogether inadequate; as will appear from this circumstance that practically, the 100,000 paupers of the metropolis were recently left in the charge of about 100 relieving officers, who, let them be *never so faithful and energetic*, could not

possibly do justice to one half the number, and who for the most part, require, themselves, careful supervision. As a first step, then, we must reduce the area of the relief districts, so that the guardians shall be able to fulfil that duty which the name implies, that they should supervise and care for the poor; and, to carry out this supervision effectually, sub-committees might be appointed by the vestries. While, however, the area of the relief districts must be reduced, the area of taxation, on the other hand, should be extended, for the injustice of the present system is monstrous; some parishes are overwhelmed with taxation to supply the demands made upon them, while neighbouring parishes escape their just burden. This is not only a grievous wrong, but causes severe suffering, as may be shown by a statement made by Dr. Stallard, that

in St. Giles 6,600 summonses were issued in one year, against the 4,000 poor rate-payers who inhabit it.* What wonder is it that in such a parish, the guardians elected by these overburdened rate-payers should be found ungenerous in their treatment of the poor, who are indeed little worse off than most of the rate-payers themselves.

To establish this system of discrimination it will be also necessary that men of education and judgment shall take a larger share in the management of parochial matters. It is a sad reflection that by the withdrawal of the upper classes from local government, it has been allowed in many instances to drift into the hands of those who are least fit to exercise its powers; and nothing is more earnestly to be desired

* Dr. Stallard on London Pauperism.

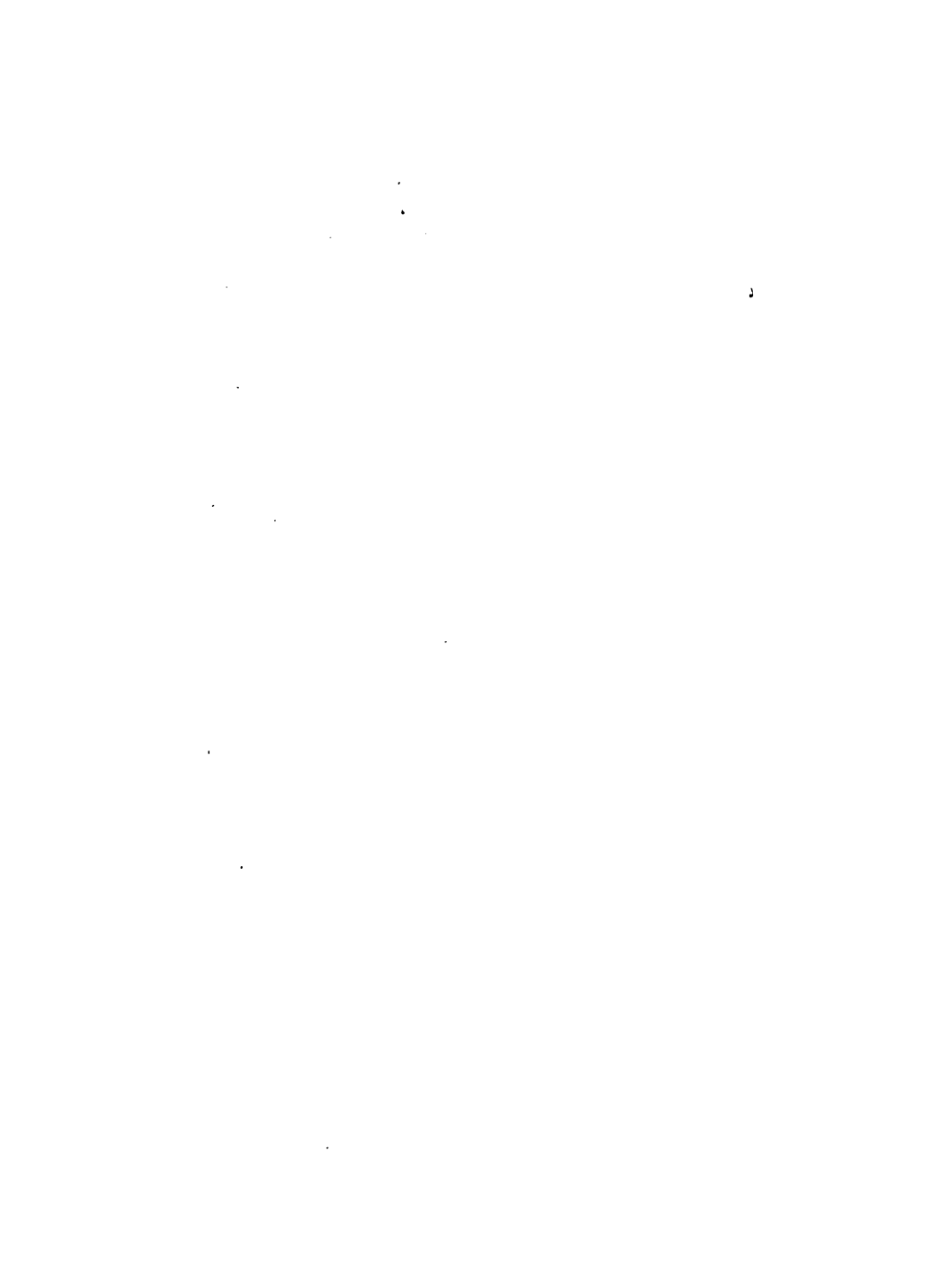
than that men of property and education, should recognise the duties their position entails, and resolve to fulfil them, not the least of which is that they should be real guardians of the poor. No doubt such work is often irksome and uninviting, but if patriotism and public spirit are too weak in the minds of the upper classes, to lead them to endure some self-denial for the sake of duty, and in behalf of their suffering fellow citizens, a melancholy future may be feared for our country, for nothing more surely betokens the decay of a nation than when its upper classes only undertake those public duties which yield them social position, or pecuniary emolument.

It is no time for us to dream on in blind security while there is an army of more than three quarters of a million of paupers at our gates. It is no time for us to indulge in

self-complacency when, notwithstanding the lavish gifts we cast into the Treasury, so little real love for our neighbours exists among us, that, for want of personal trouble and care, we allow our bounty to be either wasted in expenses of administration, or else to be applied in feeding the idle and the vicious, while Lazarus perishes for want, even of the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table.

Self-denying philanthropy, seeking without hope of reward its neighbour's welfare, is the quality our country, at the present time urgently requires. The virtue that is needed is that true benevolence, earnest in promoting the cause of humanity and justice, even in the vestry and the workhouse. The patriotism required is that which will devote its talents to the public good, not only in the Senate, where the social position acquired more than compensates for any little self-denial; but in

those lower duties, where, as vestrymen, guardians, and members of School-boards, the labour is all for love, and the reward obtained is only the answer of a good conscience, or that recompense which may be laid up in the unseen future. But though the poor-law itself is responsible for so large a portion of the pauperism which exists, there are other potent causes at work which will be treated of in another chapter.



THE INFLUENCE OF THE LAW.

II.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE LAW.

IN a previous chapter it has been shown that a large amount of our existing pauperism may be traced to the direct or indirect operation of the poor-law itself; but there are other causes at work, dragging down the most helpless of the poor into this gulf; and tending to prevent those who have once been sucked into it from ever rising again. The most powerful of all these is undoubtedly the inadequate and wretched habitations in which the poor are permitted to spend their lives.

Families in London are obliged to dwell together, each in a single room, in which they work live and sleep. Very often these families consist of parents with children of all ages; and it needs but a moments thought to enable us to realise, the impossibility of such children growing up in any healthy condition either of body, mind, or morals. In a vast number of cases, the domestic circumstances of these families are something appalling, and would not be allowed to remain a single year, were it not for that selfish indolence of society which keeps its attention averted from the consideration of so unpleasant a subject. This state of things, however, does exist; nor can we avoid the consequences by refusing to look upon the evil. It is also increasing, and its baneful influence *extending* far and wide, often punishes

individuals of those very classes of society who could, but will not, remedy it, by spreading contagion, and filling the churchyards with some of their dearest and fairest children.

It requires but little observation in passing through the streets of our large towns, and we need not go far out of their leading thoroughfares, to get some insight into the misery that exists, to catch a glimpse of the courts and alleys where the air is deathly foul for want of circulation, where the overcrowding is such that the blood is poisoned, and where those of the wretched inhabitants who continue to live, are so enervated that they have neither the power nor the inclination to struggle upward. The following extract from the *Times* of October, 1873, gives a specimen of the fearful state of many of the houses in which the poor are compelled to live.

LONDON FEVER DENS.

The London caves mentioned in the *Times*, as existing in the Seven Dials district, are equalled by the cases of overcrowding brought to light by Dr. Tripe, the medical officer of health in the Hackney district, near Bethnal Green. Dr. Tripe says, all these cases, thirty-one in number, were found out by inspection, and none from complaint. He enumerates the following:—

At Sheep Lane, the father, mother, a son of seventeen, a daughter of fifteen, a boy of eight years, and an infant, lived and slept in a small room containing only 925 cubic feet of air, and therefore not large enough for two adults and one child.

In Goring Street, a man was found living with a widow and her two children in an extremely small room, containing only 562 *cubic feet of air.*

In a small room having a cubical capacity of 604 feet, were discovered the father, mother, two girls of twelve and eleven years, and also two young children, so that there was only 100 cubic feet of air for each.

In Duncan Street there were three families, consisting of eighteen persons, living and sleeping in four small rooms, the largest room containing only 1,074, and the smallest 757 cubic feet of air.

At Duncan Square, in four rooms, the largest of which had a cubical capacity of 1,020 feet, and the smallest 763 feet, there were four families, one of which, consisting of the mother, a son of twenty-one years, a daughter of sixteen, and two younger children, lived in this single room.

In another house in Duncan Square, the father, mother, and six children, under

twelve, inhabited one small room, containing 868 cubic feet of air.

In Sheep Lane, a mother and father slept in one room, and a son of twenty a daughter of eighteen, another of sixteen, and a lad of fourteen, slept in another small room.

In Farm Place, Cottage Lane, there were several instances of families residing in rooms with but little more than 100 cubic feet of air for each person.

In Shadwell Row, the father, a son of twenty-one, another of nineteen, and a grown up daughter lived and slept in a room, the cubic content of which was only 904 feet.

In a room having a capacity of 766 feet, situated in Taylor's Buildings, a man and his wife, two children under ten, and a woman who was not related to them, were found living and sleeping.

In a house in Warburton Road, the father, mother, a son of nineteen, and a daughter of sixteen, lived and slept in a room holding only 990 feet of air.

The following cases, extracted from Dr. Stallard's "London Pauperism," complete this hideous picture :—

First : " A tenement in the parish of St. George the Martyr. In a room, seven feet by eight feet, and eight feet high, a pauper widow, her sister, and six young children, were all existing in a space not more than sufficient for a single person."

Second : " A room, ten feet square, eight feet high, containing a woman aged forty-eight, a son of eighteen, two daughters of seventeen and fifteen, and three children under thirteen, the bed occupied a considerable portion of the room, and in the remaining space every office of life had to

be performed, the only door opening into a public court."

Third : "Within a few yards of Westminster Bridge Road, in a front room twelve feet square, existed a man, his wife, and three children. In a corner covered by a single rug, with blackened lips and parched tongue, was the man wandering in the delirium of fever ; by his side, his daughter in the same state, and across the bottom an infant fast asleep."

It may be readily admitted that the above are extreme cases ; but if any should doubt the fact that vast numbers of our poor are living under conditions of wretchedness not far removed from these descriptions, let them accompany some relieving officer, or city missionary, in their rounds through the poorer districts ; and the picture, in its general features, will be found to be only too true.

How to deal with this evil is one of the gravest of the social problems of the day. It is no part of the duty of any Government to provide homes for its subjects, any more than to provide food. Such an idea is simply Communistic, and would in its result be as mischievous as futile. Nor can philanthropy remedy this evil. It may indeed provide a model here and there to show what cottage homes should and might be, and as a standing protest against, and condemnation of, the surrounding squalor ; but the task is too vast for philanthropy to grasp. Although, however, it is not the duty of Government to provide houses, it is the duty of Government to protect its subjects, and suppress everything which is injurious or dangerous to the community ; and if such be its proper function, then it must be acknowledged that our own Govern-

ment has been greatly wanting in this respect. So long as a single fever den is allowed to exist, so long as any buildings are permitted to remain in such a state, that either from faulty construction or overcrowding, they are a source of demoralisation or disease, either to those who dwell in them or to the neighbourhood in which they are located; so long is our Government, and so long are we (by whose election our Government exists in power) guilty of all the consequences that flow from this criminal negligence.

It would rightly be thought a disgrace for any Government to allow a haunt of assassins and robbers to exist unmolested in the midst of its cities; but we permit haunts of disease and vice to remain, from which death and ruin spread upon every side, and compared with which the evil

wrought by a band of robbers would be as nothing. Government has indeed recognised its responsibility in this respect; but with half-hearted hesitation, it has left the carrying out of the law to bodies often composed of persons who are themselves pecuniarily interested in its remaining a dead letter; a policy which seems hardly more reasonable than if we were to leave the prosecution of thieves at the discretion of the receivers of stolen goods. It is evident then that the first step to remedy the fearful evils resulting from overcrowding and unfit habitations, is to forbid them to continue, and by stringent enactments, as well as by appointing proper officers, to enforce the remedy. An objection will probably be made, that by such legislation we should cause severe suffering; but though in some cases this might occur, it would

neither be of such long continuance, nor so severe as might be at first thought ; for it has been proved that wholesome dwellings can be built and made remunerative investments, and yet be let at the same rent as many of the squalid tenements that now abound. But foul courts and alleys cover every inch of ground where the poorer classes congregate, and prevent the introduction of better houses, while the landlords who are getting rich by receiving extravagant rents obtained from these overcrowded hovels, will neither improve them themselves, nor dispose of them to those who would do so. This is a crime against the commonwealth, an evil which demands immediate attention, and which may soon be remedied, if only our legislators are patriotic and bold enough to face the storm, which those interested would be sure to raise.

As an evidence that the working classes can and do pay sufficient to obtain proper habitations, the commercial success that has been achieved by the Artisan's Dwellings Company may be quoted, which, providing hundreds of cottage homes of almost perfect character, has yet paid a dividend of 6 per cent. and is laying by a reserve fund.

A second cause of pauperism is drunkenness. This fearfully destructive passion, taking often irresistible possession of its victims, afflicts, no doubt, persons of every class, and is engendered and fostered by various causes; but that it is attributable in a great degree to the circumstances we have been considering, no one would venture to question; and it is not difficult to perceive how naturally such circumstances would tend to create and nourish it.

Condemned to stifle in the dismal alleys

and fetid courts of our large towns, where, exhausted by work, the deadly air still further depresses and enervates them; what wonder if the poor wretched creatures are found rushing to stimulants and seeking to drown their misery in drink; but how terrible the consequences — careworn, woe-stricken wives trembling often beneath a husband's blows, with half-starved, neglected children, precociously clever perhaps, but also precociously vicious, and carrying in their veins the taint and heritage of their parent's vice.

Whilst acknowledging that the law cannot make people sober, it must yet be admitted that it can do much to mitigate drunkenness. The limitation of the 'hours during which a public-house may legally be kept open has already done some good; but to continue to allow the tempting dram-shops to retain their prey and throw their fasci-

nating glitter into the streets, up to eleven, and often twelve o'clock, when every other shop is closed, and most people are at rest, is a grievous curse; and a sad mark of cowardice and want of patriotism on the part of our politicians. So long as this is permitted, so long must the community bear the penalty in being compelled to support many thousands of pauper families whose parents have been too weak to escape the snare of the gin-palace and the dram-shop.

There is still another cause of pauperism that must not be overlooked—namely, the inadequacy of the law for enforcing the duties of men in regard to their wives and families. Its practical teaching is that men are only bound to provide sufficient for their families to prevent their becoming a burden on the parish, and thus, though the man may be earning large wages, he is at liberty

to keep his wife and family in a state of pinching poverty and in rags, as well as compel them to herd together in one wretched room, while he wastes his money in dissipation and drunkenness, no existing law touching him. That this is a great wrong is evident, when it is considered that these children owe their existence to him, and that the woman, by the care of them, is deprived of the power of doing much for their support; and also that, by omitting to provide proper sustenance for these children, their father will, most likely, cause them to become a burden and injury to society as well as to endure a life of suffering. To present this wrong in a more forcible manner, let us compare the relative positions of the virtuous married woman, and of the abandoned outcast, who lives at her pleasure, bringing into the world a family

of illegitimate children. The poor virtuous woman is really a slave to her husband, dependent upon his whim for everything except the barest necessities of life, and exposed to suffer in herself, and through her children, from every freak of his bad temper or drunkenness. But for the shameless outcast (so-called) the law enforces very different treatment. It provides that for every illegitimate child she has she can claim from its father from 2*s.* 6*d.* up to 5*s.* per week for its maintenance; and thus, with a family of four or five illegitimate children, she may live in uncontrolled comfort and comparative luxury, while her virtuous sisters are toiling early and late to meet the wants of their legitimate family, and are, perhaps, suffering from the whims of a dissolute husband, being able only to claim the few shillings he has left of his

wages after his drunken orgies. Let no one doubt the teaching power of the law. If we cannot make men good and virtuous by Act of Parliament we can make them drunkards and paupers, and educate them in vice, and with all our boasted freedom, enlightenment, and philanthropy, we are, it is to be feared, to a great extent, still allowing the law to do this.

A striking and almost ludicrous example of the different treatment meted out by the Legislature to the virtuous and vicious is afforded by the practical working of the law which forbids the marriage of a man with his deceased wife's sister. The woman living in illegal union with her late sister's husband can obtain 5s. a week for each child she bears him, whilst her sister's legitimate children can claim nothing but the barest sustenance. This advantage to the

law-breaker would cease, if the law were changed, and the marriage made legal.

If this be a just description of the law as it stands, and of the effect it is calculated to produce, it is evident there is a grievous legal wrong, eating into the heart of the country's moral life, which demands the putting forth of every effort by the just and the good for its correction.

It is impossible for any right minded Englishman to contemplate, without some feeling of pride the position to which his nation has attained ; to consider the extent of its commerce, the mighty influence it exercises in every quarter of the globe, the pre-eminence it holds in science, the purity of the administration of its law, and the wealth gathered by its manufacturers and merchants from every land, without feeling that it is a proud thing to belong to such

a country; but over all this fair picture there hangs a heavy shadow. It is true that England is pre-eminently the land of wealth and freedom; it is alas! also the land of withering poverty and debasing pauperism. It is pre-eminently the land of philanthropy and religion; it is, alas! also the land of pride and selfishness. We disperse our missionaries far and wide to reclaim the heathen; but under the shadow of our thousand churches, and within the sound of our cathedral chimes, we allow a large portion of our fellow-countrymen to grow up in a state, compared with which the savage existence is blessed. The Indian in the west rejoices in his freedom, and in his (to him) comfortable wigwam, in the fresh air he breathes, and the boundless prairies that the good Spirit has given for his use; and he looks forward after his death

to the intense joy of the happy hunting fields. The Indian of the east bears with calm complacency the ills that life brings him; reposing in the thought that when life has passed he will be absorbed into the essence of Deity. To these we send missionaries (and rightly, to do so is our duty), but still around us and amongst us, there swarms a nation of heathen, compared with whom the American or Bengal Indians are noble; these latter, to some extent, act up to the light they have, and look forward to a brighter life hereafter. But let us regard the hundreds of thousands that occupy the courts, lanes, and alleys of our large towns, and it is hard to conceive a more melancholy picture than that which meets our view. Drunken men and women, wretched wives and children, brutalising filth, pinching poverty and want, thousands

upon thousands living the life of beasts on earth, not having even the dim hope that the savage possesses of a happier future.

There is no sight, it may be said, more attractive and beautiful, than that upon which one looks, in watching the throng of brilliant equipages with which the parks and principal thoroughfares of the metropolis are filled; there can, on the other hand, be no spectacle of greater misery, no scene more repulsive and distressing, than that which is presented to the observer in passing from these noble streets, displaying such wealth, beauty, and splendour, into the mean squalid alleys and the filth choked courts that lie around them; how startling the contrast between the magnificence *there*, and the sordid destitution *here*, between *those* fair radiant shiningly attractive women, and *these* of the same sex shivering in hideous

rags, and grimed with dirt ! And who is responsible for such a contrast ? Is it not every indolent and selfish heart among us that evades its proper burden, and refrains from co-operating in some remedial effort under the excuse of business, or want of power, leaving things to take their chance, with the cry of Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper ?"

Retribution is the law of the universe. If we allow our brothers and sisters to drag out their existence in degradation, pauperism, and crime ; a time will come, even in this world, when selfishness, pride, and indolence will bring their bitter reward. Every Englishman can do something to wipe off his country's disgrace, and every Englishman who declines to use his best efforts in the cause of the poor, fails in his duty to his country and his God.

THE ORPHAN'S WRONG.



III.

THE ORPHAN'S WRONG.

There is, perhaps, no sadder sight on earth than that of an orphan family gathered round a grave, into which the body of their last remaining parent has just been lowered. It is difficult to hear, unmoved, the sobs of the elder children, bitterly conscious of all they have lost; or, to see the half-frightened, half-anxious expressions on the faces of the younger, who are yet unable fully to realise the fact that their father and mother will never come back to them again,—that never more will they see a father's

face, or know a mother's care. One thing further only is wanting to fill to overflowing their cup of misery — namely, that these desolate orphans be also destitute ; that, as they turn from the grave, where not only parents, but love, home, and joy are buried, they shall meet no kind friends or relatives, ready with tender sympathy to wipe away their tears and speak words of consolation and hope ; but instead, the parish officer waiting to carry them off for interment in the gloomy union workhouse, there to breathe an atmosphere of pauperism and vice, forced into companionships that must need contaminate them both in body and mind.

Can any picture of woe and misery be more complete ? And yet, such is the condition of about twelve thousand English orphan children, who, deprived by early

death of a parent's care, now drag out a dreary existence within workhouse walls. It is true that English men and women do feel some pity for orphans. Perhaps no prayer in the beautiful Litany of the Church of England meets with warmer response than that which entreats the great Father to "defend and provide for the fatherless children, and all that are desolate and oppressed;" but, "evil is wrought by want of thought as well as want of heart," and still more by that indolence which leads people so often, like the man described in the fable, to cry to heaven for help instead of putting their own shoulders to the wheel.

It is a surprising fact that the rulers of this country, which is already so overburdened by pauperism, and where the pauper spirit is demonstrated to have a

constant tendency to become hereditary, should not only make little effort to cut off the entail from those already possessing it, but should actually sanction the surest method of increasing this pauper class, by bringing up so many destitute children in a pauper atmosphere, with a pauper's companions and surroundings, and affording them no home but the poorhouse, a course of treatment which can hardly fail to pauperise the victims. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that, besides the disastrous result, both to the future of the children and to the community, insured by such a course of treatment, it is in itself most cruel. How sad must be a little orphan's life in the dull, dreary workhouse nursery, where there are no pictures to enliven the grim whitewashed walls, no toys to amuse, no wise-hearted women to teach them how to play, no kindly look of

affection to return the infant glances that seem to plead for love.

A lady who had adopted one of these little ones stated that nothing struck her as more melancholy than the fact that the child, about eighteen months old, actually did not know how to kiss.

From the sombre and depressing life of the workhouse nursery, the next step for the orphans is to the workhouse school, where they are mixed with the depraved children of depraved parents, and where, when sick, they share the wards with adult paupers, a large proportion of whom are the refuse of the population, and the worst of characters. The ailments of the children are often slight, and in the sick ward they have nothing to do but to listen to the conversation of these adults, much of which is such as no child should ever hear, and

that this unfortunately exerts a sort of fascination upon them is shown in the following extract from a workhouse visitor's report :—

“School teachers often complain to me that they cannot prevent the children from endeavouring to catch cutaneous diseases from each other, owing to the attraction of the sick wards.”

In these workhouse schools not only are the surroundings and associations pauperising, but many of the schoolfellows and companions of the orphans are the children of thieves, tramps, and women of bad character, who only enter the workhouse for a brief period, fresh from haunts of vice and crime, to which they will presently return, but not till they have infected others with ophthalmia or similar loathsome *bodily* diseases, and still more loathsome

ideas and thoughts. The district schools—in all other respects a vast improvement on the workhouse—are still open to this serious objection, as is shown by recent disclosures at Anerly and elsewhere.

Having thus trained our desolate destitute orphans to live without affection, to receive pauperism, as their natural condition, and the poorhouse as their home; and, having furnished them with precociously wicked companions, well learned in vice; at about thirteen or fourteen years of age, they are turned out to fight their way in the world, and as far, at all events, as the girls are concerned, with such wretched results as might be expected. Ignorant of domestic duties these soon exhaust the patience of their mistresses, without the restraining influence of the thought that some one cares for them, they become reckless; imbued

with vicious ideas from their earliest years, they, in the majority of instances, become vicious.

The following extracts from the writings of those who have well studied the subject, show the fearful fruit of such (elaborate) training for evil :—

“A workhouse matron declared that, of 300 orphan children she had known, she did not believe one was doing well.”—*Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society*, 1859.

“In a workhouse with which we are acquainted, the poor abandoned women, stripped to the waist, would dance madly, shouting the obscenest songs. An outburst of the noisiest insubordination was accounted for by the master thus : ‘ You see, sir, they are the girls who have been brought up in the workhouse.’ ”—*Children of the State*, pp. 20 and 22.

"In one case, out of 165 girls apprenticed, 18 only were reported as doing well, and within three years 73 had returned to the workhouse."—*Ibid*, p. 23.

"In another, out of 160 provided with clothes to enable them to get employment, within two months and a half 58 found their way back to the workhouse."—*Social Science Association Report*, 1860.

"Out of 180 who left Cork workhouse, 60 returned within a brief period."—*Journal of Workhouse Visiting Society*, 1860.

"The history of 80 prostitutes having been investigated, they were all found to be workhouse girls."—*The Philosophy of the Poor Laws*, 1865.

"The officer of the Kirkdale School says, 'The number of girls who fell who went from that institution was painful to think of, it was so large.'"—*Poor Relief Committee*, 1862.

“Some institutions for the rescue of fallen women object to receive those brought up in a workhouse, ‘their cases are so hopeless.’”—*Rescue Society Report.*

The workhouse life, half penal, half humanitarian, wholly demoralising, is a bad place of refuge for any; but, for the infant and the child no place can be worse. What man or woman of ordinary humanity would not shrink with horror from the thought of their own children being brought up within its walls. How then, shall we answer, when the wrecks produced by this horrid system plead against the selfish indifference on our part that has led to such ruin. In ancient days children were passed through the fire to Moloch. We, hardly less cruel, first pray the great Father to defend and provide for the fatherless children, and then allow them to be consigned to miserable workhouses,

over whose gates the inscription might well be written, "Orphans who enter here, leave hope behind."

The alternative systems of bringing up destitute orphans, namely, either in district schools, or by boarding them out in cottage homes, will be considered in another chapter.



THE ORPHAN'S WRONG.



IV.

THE ORPHAN'S WRONG.



SCORNEO TO DEATH.

THE melancholy condition of those children who are nurtured in workhouses, the dreary hopelessness of their childhood, the corruption of character which is infallibly developed as they grow up by the pauper associations and vicious associates surrounding them ; and, lastly the painful and terrible results of this training as exemplified in the subsequent history of a large majority of those whose career can be traced; these points have been already fully illustrated. In

exceptional cases the lot of the children referred to may no doubt be ameliorated by the kindness of the matrons, and by the visits of tender-hearted ladies, who seek them out in their gloomy abodes; but, so utterly bad and unsuitable is the workhouse system, that it is open to question whether even this amelioration is not in its result a cruelty. The following true account will illustrate the miserable condition of pauper-bred orphans, even when kindness has done all it can to improve it. Some ten or twelve years ago there was (says the writer) in our workhouse a very good little girl, an orphan. I knew the child personally. She was about thirteen years of age, and had been in the workhouse some few years when she was sent out for a month upon trial as servant in a respectable house in the little town of Highworth. At the end of three

weeks she left her place and returned to the workhouse. The matron, who was deservedly beloved by all who knew her, went to the little girl and kindly talked to her, saying she had not expected such conduct from her ; she had always been such a good, obedient child. " I could not stay, ma'am, oh, I could not stay !" said the poor child, " they scorned me so." " Who scorned you so ?" said the matron. " The children of the town," was the answer.

Within a few days after this the girl began to droop, and not many weeks afterwards was numbered with the dead. The matron's belief was that she died of a broken heart, because " they scorned her so."

While in ten thousand English homes mothers were rejoicing over their happy children, rejoicing perhaps with trembling as the thought passed through their minds how sad it would be for these if death should

deprive them while young of their mother's care and affection ; while from ten thousand devout churchgoers the prayer was ascending that God would have mercy on all fatherless children, this desolate, destitute orphan was breaking her young heart, " scorned to death."

But who was responsible for this cruelty ? Were the village children ? No ; they only applied (without discrimination) the sentiments of their parents towards paupers as a class. Were, then, the parents of these children ? No ; they had only in their children's hearing expressed the noble-hearted indignation of the honest, industrious English workman, against those who *willingly* eat the bread of idleness and dependence, and their knowledge of the base characters of the majority of those who make the workhouse *their home*. Rather, *we* are guilty of the

crime who without protest and without effort, allow the innocent orphans of the poor to be degraded to a pauper's life in a workhouse home.

Were there no alternative course, it might be a question whether it is worth while providing for these children at all, if nothing better than the fate above described can be secured for them — rather leave them to Christian charity ; or, failing that, to the care of the Great Father, whose interference the Church so constantly invokes, than doom them to the dreariness of the workhouse union, the degradation of its education, and the ruinous effect of its influence. But there are two alternatives ready to our hand.

We might, in the first place, bring them up in district schools—of which there are already several, mostly well managed. This plan, however, is open to several objections.

Firstly : The evil involved in the herding together of large numbers of children, mostly of the pauper class, which is acknowledged by all who have studied the subject to be very injurious, as its tendency is to prevent the growth of any desire to rise above its class.

Secondly : The want of separation between the permanent and the casual children—the latter being those who are constantly passing with their parents from haunts of filth and vice to the workhouse and back again—contact with whom must be productive of moral defilement, as it is so often of physical disease.

Thirdly : A most weighty objection lies in the fact that the very discipline and strict organisation absolutely necessary when large numbers of children are gathered together is *prejudicial* to the formation and development

of character in a child. Its whole time being constantly spent under the yoke of rigid rule and routine, without any escape into the freedom of home during holidays, it naturally grows up dull and spiritless—unfit for the battle of life.

The above might, no doubt, be obviated, or, at least, mitigated, by having separate smaller schools for orphans, and joining industrial training to their education; and, it is to be sincerely hoped that this plan, which is now being carried out in some, will be adopted in all the schools, but there will still remain two great objections; viz., that the children have no home influence, and that when they have gone out to service, there is no home, in case of misfortune, to which they can return but the workhouse. The cost of these schools is also excessive, and a great wrong is thus done to many a

struggling ratepayer, who is paying twice as much for these children as he can afford for his own. The following is the cost in the principal district schools :—

	Per child per year.		
	£	s.	d.
South Metropolitan	18	15	2
North Surrey	16	2	6
Swinton, near Manchester	16	9	0

This is exclusive of the expenses of a large staff, the cost of buildings, &c., which would bring the amount for each child up to at least 12 *shillings* per week.

The second alternative method of dealing with these helpless orphans may be illustrated by a French fable : A labourer, painfully anxious about the fate of his little family should death take him away, one day found in a bush two birds' nests near each other. Constantly he watched them, till he saw a *hawk* pounce upon and destroy the parent

birds belonging to one of them. Sadly distressed, thinking that the fate of the little birds betokened the fate of his own little children in the event of their losing him he avoided the place for some time, but at last was drawn to look at the nest, expecting to find the fledgelings starved to death ; but, to his surprise, they were alive and healthy. Standing by in astonishment he saw the parents of the other brood equally distribute the food they brought between their own young ones and the orphan birds, and took comfort (for in France there is no workhouse) in believing that the great Father would provide in a similar way for his own children.

This suggests the natural plan of caring for our destitute orphans. Their own parents being gone, let us find them foster-parents from among their own class. This is no new, untried system ; it has been tried for years

in Scotland, and those brought up by it have had time to prove its value. The following is the testimony of the officials who have watched its working, one of whom was at first opposed to it.

Mr. Adamson states that, of 923 children boarded out by the Glasgow Union, only 40 have been lost sight of, while less than five per cent. have turned out badly. Mr. Greig, clerk to the Edinburgh Parochial Board, says "it is a rare thing for a child who has been brought up in this way to become chargeable to the parish in after life."

After 20 years' experience, the guardians of the poor in Dublin have petitioned in favour of an extension of the time the children are allowed to remain with their foster parents.

The happiest results have followed from the introduction of boarding-out in England,

and the Windermere Committee state that the anxiety of the committee who undertook to supervise the children was at first considerable, but quickly diminished as they found how soon the little ones became loved as members of the family.

This is indeed a great encouragement to those struggling, against prejudice and obstructiveness, for the extension of the boarding-out system. They know that gradually children are being boarded out; and that almost every child thus treated finds a real home. Numerous are the cases where foster parents have altogether adopted the children; and almost universal is the testimony that, especially when placed out young, the mutual attachment between them and their foster parents becomes so strong that when they leave to go out to service, there is always a real home to which they can return. And,

as regards expense, no system is so economical; the comparative cost being from 3s. 6d. to 4s. 6d. per week, as against 5s. 6d. to 6s. in workhouses, and 6s. 6d. to 12s. in district schools.

The objections raised to the system seem really to arise from ignorance of its working. It has been argued, for instance, that homes cannot be found; the answer to this is that there are numbers waiting, but, owing to the resistance of boards of guardians, children cannot be obtained.

It is also argued that the children would be neglected or ill-treated, as under the old farming-out system. But the plan of supervision required by the Poor Law Board precludes this danger, while the establishment of ladies' committees brings rich and poor together in the happiest intercourse.

Mr. Goschen's order provides as follows :

“Orphan and deserted children may be boarded out, provided a committee of two or more ladies approved by the Government Board undertake the superintendence of them. The Poor-law officer is also bound to see they are well cared for, and that the homes are suitable. The maximum sum allowed is 4s. per week per child, exclusive of payment for clothing and education. The travelling expenses are also paid by the guardians, and the children are required to attend school.” Under these conditions it is hardly possible that the children should not be well cared for, while they find not only foster parents, but kind friends in the committee of ladies, whose countenance and assistance on their going out into the world are invaluable, while the interest in and sympathy with the destitute orphan whom the foster parent adopts for a moderate re-

muneration, and the ladies regard as their special charge, often constitutes a tender link between the cottage and the hall. Surely with such a system waiting to be carried out, kindly to the poor children in their childhood, most successful, wherever it has been tried, in training them for a future life of usefulness, economical in its present working, and doubly so by cutting off the entail of pauperism, it is the height of madness to continue the present prevailing system of workhouse rearing, and yet, though many homes are now waiting for foster children, guardians will not give way to this new-fangled plan, and thousands of desolate, destitute orphans pay the sad penalty of their guardian's obstinacy. But what right has the nation thus to treat the poor children of the State? Is there nothing in the word home? Do not hearts want cultivating as

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well as heads? At the present time there is a loud outcry for honest, able-bodied, intelligent men, and useful, faithful domestic servants ; during the past twenty years about 100,000 orphans, or deserted children, who might have helped to supply the want, have been brought up as paupers to fill our work-houses and prisons, or flaunt their shameless finery in the streets of our large towns, a vivid illustration of the great truth, that with what measure we meet it shall be measured to us again. We plant these orphans in a corrupt soil, and reap a just retribution in a harvest of crime.

There is, to an English ear, no word sweeter than that of home ; it is a word so full of pleasant and happy suggestions that it often causes the tear to roll down the rugged cheek of England's exiles toiling in long banishment at the

extremities of the earth; it is the word which (where the thing itself has been enjoyed) softens sooner than any other, except mother, the heart of the outcast woman. The home is the great barrier which, more than any other influence, restrains the great flood of selfishness and vice from overwhelming society, and making patriotism but a name to cover their selfish pride and covetousness, which too often prevails in countries where that name is unknown. By what right, then, do we refuse to our destitute orphans the comfort, joy, and benefits that this most English of words implies?

What is the worth of the kindness, wisdom, or religion of those who, looking at the gaol-like workhouse, and thinking of the poor orphan children dragging out their dreary childhood within its walls, can pass by on the other side without an effort to rescue and restore them to home and love?

JUST PRINCIPLES OF PUNISHMENT.



V.

JUST PRINCIPLES OF PUNISHMENT.

AMONG many questions demanding for their solution serious thought and anxious care, not the least, whether considered in relation to the protection of society or the good of the wrongdoers themselves, is the subject of the punishment of criminals. On few matters, moreover, has public opinion run to greater extremes. Formerly our punishments were as cruel as they were futile. The time is yet within the memory of those living when criminals were treated as savage beasts, when the spectacle was

not unfrequent, of many poor wretches hanging together on the gallows for such offences as sheepstealing, shoplifting, forgery, or breaking of machinery, and even death itself was a merciful punishment compared with the cruel fate of those condemned to linger in the vile prisons of the time, or to cross the sea in those more terrible convict ships, which well deserved the name of floating hells.

When, indeed, we read descriptions of criminal punishments in those days, and then consider the trivial nature of some of the crimes for which such torture and degradation were inflicted, the mind revolts at the selfish shortsightedness of a community which could allow such a state of things to exist; for not only was this treatment of criminals abominable in its cruelty, but it was utterly inefficacious in repressing crime,

which at no time, especially in its most serious aspects, was so rife as during that period.

Some twenty-five years ago society roused at length to a sense of the iniquity of the past, rushed to an opposite extreme, and almost made pets of malefactors. Having so long forgotten that criminals were, after all, fellow-men, it for the time forgot that these fellow-men were also criminals, and from exclusively thinking of the protection of the community, it acted as if exclusively interested in the reformation of the criminal. Since then public opinion has fluctuated, now towards harshness, now towards excessive lenity, unguided apparently by any fixed principle, and therefore unsettled.

In endeavouring to fix some just principle of criminal punishment, it seems necessary to embody the truths contained

in both these different views, and we then reach the conclusion that criminal punishment to be just and effective must be retributive, as well as deterrent and remedial. Against the first of these demands, however, an influential party strongly protests, denouncing in bitter language the idea of retribution as unchristian and inhuman; but in vain do we look for any support of their view either in reason or revelation.* On the contrary, even the loving religion of the New Testament most sternly maintains this doctrine, invoking indignation and wrath upon every soul of man that doeth evil, and declaring that suffering in this world or the next, in bitter repentance here or pain hereafter, must follow transgression. While referring to the Civil magistrate,

* We of course put aside such an application of the words "resist not evil" as would apply them to civil government, which no one *practically* holds.

St. Paul says : " He is a terror to evil doers, for he beareth not the sword in vain."

The moral conscience of mankind also proclaims the same truth. When some great crime is committed and the offender escapes; when some heartless villain ruins and forsakes a weak woman, who in agony destroys her infant, and through the imperfection of the law, he escapes punishment; when some ruffian maims and injures his half-starved wife or paramour, and through the *wonderful* leniency of the magistrate he suffers only a few weeks confinement, there is an universal feeling of indignation and regret that justice has failed, and this feeling exists among persons who are in no way directly interested. It is the feeling of justice planted in the human heart by its maker and which demands retribution upon the violator of human laws.

Even nature shadows forth the same truth, for the violator of *her* laws infallibly suffers retribution. If a man neglects the laws of health, painful sickness will fall upon him. If he ignores the physical laws which govern our world, sharp and bitter pain will follow. And this law of retribution seems to overthrow the arguments of those who exhibit so much indignation at the infliction of corporal punishment even when visited upon villains guilty of premeditated acts of violence. It cannot be unjust that he who, making use of superior strength, wilfully inflicts agonising pain upon an unoffending fellow-creature should himself be made to feel some of the suffering he has inflicted. It is a fallacy to maintain that corporal punishment is in itself degrading. St. Paul was not degraded when five times he received forty stripes save one. The

martyrs, of whom the world was not worthy were not degraded by their trial of cruel scourgings? No, they counted their scars marks of honour. Man cannot be degraded through his body, degradation is of the soul, and if the wretch is still further degraded (supposing that possible), when suffering the infliction of the cat for aggravated cruelty to some helpless fellow-creature, we must seek deeper for the cause than in the mere fact that the punishment he receives is bodily—namely, in the feeling that the crime for which such punishment is inflicted is so vile that society casts him out.

Surely nothing can be more strikingly just than to say to such a criminal, you have violated human law by inflicting wilful pain on a weaker fellow-creature, feel then, what it is to suffer pain in your own body, and while you writhe under its smart, think that

an unoffending-fellow creature is suffering under similar pain through your wilful cruelty. This would be *just* retribution. There would be no *just* retribution in corporal punishment for theft ; and other similar crimes, in such a case the man's nature might revolt, and he might rightly say, this punishment is a cruel injustice, for though in a time of temptation I stole, and in just retribution society may compel me to work with hard labour to make restitution, there is no justice in lacerating my body for such an offence, when I have respected the bodies of my fellow-men.

We must, however, carefully bear in mind that after all retribution is but *one* of the principles that should prevail in criminal punishment,, and though so important that the ignoring of it has produced, and must produce weakness in the administration of

justice; yet it is still more important that the punishment should be both deterrent and remedial. Few, if any, deny that one great aim of all punishment should be to deter the offender from repeating, and to deter others of similar disposition from committing the same crime. But the difficulty of founding a course of action on this acknowledged truth is that we at once come into the region of statistics, which unfortunately can generally be so manipulated on all subjects as to be valueless, and with regard to the deterrent effects of different kinds of punishment we have little certain data to go upon. We may, however, lay down as a maxim that punishments to be made deterrent should be such as are most distasteful to the culprits, and also that to a great extent the crime itself indicates the nature of the punishment demanded; thus

to the idle swindler and the skulking thief no punishment will be more distasteful than to be condemned to hard and steady labour. To the heartless scoundrel guilty of cruelty, no punishment is so distasteful as the painful flogging : on this latter point there can be little doubt,* for since flogging was adopted as a part of the punishment for robbery with violence, this crime has decreased 20 per cent., while robbery without violence has decreased only $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and without doubt the results would have been more manifest had judges carried out the law more boldly and more uniformly. The want of uniformity

* EXTRACT FROM ANNUAL GOVERNMENT BLUE BOOK STATISTICS REGARDING CRIME, 1870 AND 1871.

1870 shows a decrease in offences for which the punishment of flogging is administered of 20 per cent. as against 1869.

1871 shows a further decrease of 12 per cent.

1870 shows a decrease of only $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in offences against property *without* violence.

1871 a further decrease of 8 per cent.

1871 shows an increase of 2 per cent. in offences against the person, including murder, rape, and assaults of all kinds for which flogging is not administered.

and certainty in the sentences of our judges and magistrates is, indeed, a great defect in our criminal treatment ; for a knowledge that every offence will certainly, when proved, carry its full and just punishment is of first importance in dealing with the criminal. If he feels that not only is there the chance of escaping conviction, but that, if convicted, there is an uncertainty as to the amount of the penalty ; the deterrent nature of punishment is greatly weakened. It is sincerely to be hoped, even on this account, that before long the public conscience may cease to be so constantly shocked, as is now the case, by the injustice of the judgments of different judges. One condemning a poor fellow to long imprisonment with hard labour for a petty theft, or an offence against the mint, another allowing scoundrels of the deepest dye, at whose hands men, women, or children

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have suffered, it may be, life-enduring misery, to escape with a slight imprisonment, inadequate to fulfil any of the ends of punishment.

Having considered the principles of retribution and deterrence, that of reformation or the remedial naturally follows: and this among a Christian and humane community must always hold a prominent place.

An undue leaning toward mercy in the treatment of criminals may be extenuated by the further consideration that the State, by its cruel and unwise treatment of juvenile delinquents, is the real cause of many a life being spent in crime; between six and seven thousand children are brought before the magistrates in London each year; a large number of these are only *accused*, but whether guilty or innocent they are placed in the same cells, carried in the same prison vans, and stand at length to take

their trial in the same dock as the burglar or the murderer. In the great majority of instances the offences for which these wretched children, ranging from six to fourteen years of age, are brought before this (to them at least) dreadful tribunal, are acts of mischief, of petty theft, or of sudden anger, such as many children of the wealthier class at times commit, and for whom some slight correction is considered ample punishment ; but in the case of the children of the poor, who have neither the education, nor the other advantages of those above them in position, and who are yet exposed to much greater temptation, society meets out a very different treatment. In their case, a stolen cake, an abstracted penny, or a broken window are treated as crimes sufficient to bring upon the little urchin the awful vengeance of the law. A little boy, say of ten years of age,

guilty of one of these *grievous* crimes, is dragged through the streets, thrust into the dismal police cell with older criminals, brought up for trial in the public police court and, if found guilty, is condemned to a prison with its life-long stigma, or at best to the semi-prison treatment of a reformatory. Such a penalty for a childish misdemeanour would surely be grotesque were it not horribly cruel, and the result to many thousands of children thus sent to gaol and branded with its degradation is that it becomes for them the turning point downwards to ruin.

In the name of common humanity let society cease from such cruelty as this. The last place to which we should consign a child, even for crime, is a gaol ; but thus to punish it for faults to which childhood is so prone, and for which our own well-tutored children are so moderately corrected, is a wrong for

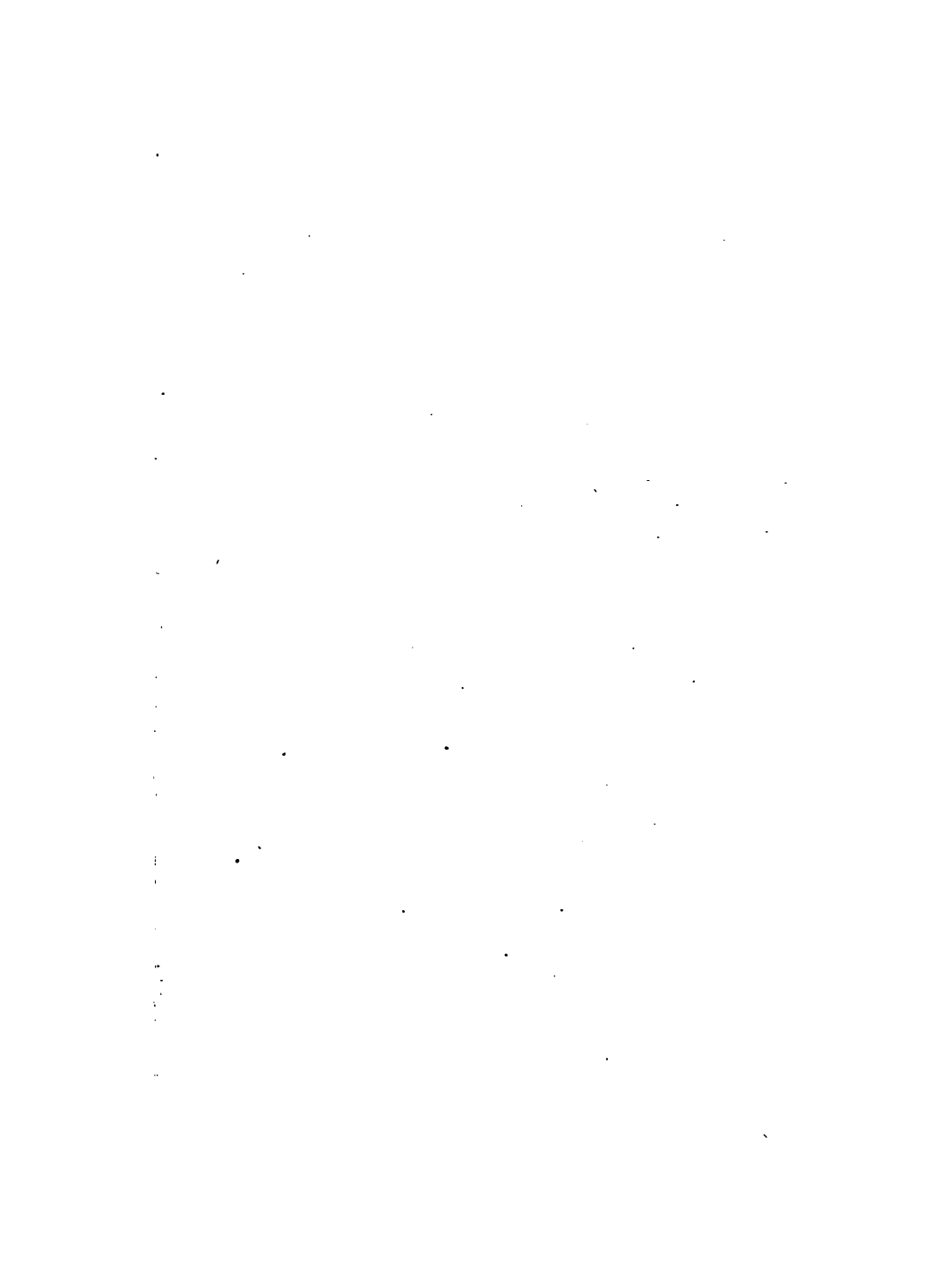
which we must some day give an account. Not that such children should go unpunished, but let childrens' offences be visited with childrens' punishments, and above all let us avoid the cruelty of sending them to the police cell, to be locked up there through the dreary night, before appearing in public court the next day.

Would it not be easy in such cases to have the children handed over to the parents, making them responsible for their appearance the next day? If this course was followed in many cases children now found guilty might, if relieved from the terror of the position in which they are now placed, be able to prove their innocence, and, under any circumstances, much terrible and undeserved suffering would be saved, and justice would be made to include mercy.

When we consider the temptations to

which many criminals have been exposed, the ignorance of right and wrong in which many of them have been brought up, the fact that a large proportion are of defective intellect, it is no wonder that many persons forget justice in arguing for mercy, and without doubt every effort should be made to atone for past neglect and past cruelty to the criminal classes by rendering our legislation not only just but merciful. At present it is far from this; and while the treadmill and the gang system remain, it never can be effective in its remedial power. The subject of the remedial treatment or the reformation of criminals is, however, so large that it well deserves separate consideration.

JUST PRINCIPLES OF PUNISHMENT.



VI.

JUST PRINCIPLES OF PUNISHMENT.

ALL punishment should be founded upon the principle of justice—strict justice—which neither respects the person of the poor nor honours the person of the mighty. With justice in this sense mercy must never interfere, inasmuch as to tamper with it, from any consideration whatever; would be fatal to its very existence. Let even pity influence the scales, and it is justice no longer. Justice, however, *includes* mercy, and in the struggle between society and the criminal it must take up a position from

which it can give due weight to the demands of society which has been injured, and at the same time take into account the circumstances of the wrongdoer. A few striking facts will illustrate the necessity for this. Out of every hundred criminals, thirty-four could neither read nor write, and only three and a half per cent. could read and write well. In the Government report for last Christmas, we find the following :—"It is painful to have to say that it is to parental neglect that by far the larger share of the grosser crimes of the present day is to be attributed; in London alone many thousands of children are trained to thieving, dragged up to manhood from the guilt-gardens of our great towns."

Every principle of punishment that does not include mercy is unjust and cruel; justice itself demands that, when the law has been vindicated, the nature of the punishment

inflicted should be remedial and restorative, and furthermore, that every effort should be made to reform the criminal, and to enable him to return to the community not only morally changed, but with the power of maintaining himself by honest means.

In discussing the reformation of criminals it is necessary to examine into the causes of the crimes that are committed against society, and it will then be found that the principal motive in such crimes is either passion or covetousness. The former includes all crimes against the person, from that of murder to that of common assault where property is not so much the object, but rather the gratification of cruelty, lust, or revenge; the latter includes all crimes, whether accompanied or unaccompanied by personal violence, in which the aim is to obtain the property of another. It is evident on the slightest consideration

that these two classes of crimes arise from different causes, and require for their treatment a very different mode of punishment, if our criminal legislation is to be both just and remedial. Crimes of passion are of course of very unequal degrees of guilt. There are those which are committed in the haste of the moment, under circumstances of great provocation or temptation, and there are those which are perpetrated systematically or with deliberate malice.

With regard to the former we may say that justice is on the whole fairly administered, but when we come to crimes of malicious passion, such as assaults on wives, children, and helpless dependents, or planned attacks upon masters, fellow-workmen, and police, the case is totally different. With respect to these latter the administration of justice as well as the law itself, is degraded by the in-

adequacy of the punishment inflicted by which no just principle whatever is satisfied. There is no retribution for such a crime in the three or six months' imprisonment to which a wretch, who has nearly kicked a helpless woman to death, is condemned, nor is the deterrent principle answered any better by such light sentences. Once let the brutal portion of the community become possessed of the idea, that the law lightly esteems personal security, that it counts it a greater crime to steal a few shillings than to injure a fellow-creature so long as serious consequences do not almost instantly result, and, as might be expected, such offences are encouraged; and the daily police reports prove their disastrous increase.

We shall make but small progress in just principles of punishment until we entirely reverse our present ideas, which have been

fostered by the remnants of feudal law, according to which a man's property was more sacred than his person. It is absolutely necessary at the present time, by more stringent laws and sterner administration, to make it known that the first object of good government is the protection of the person; that he who deliberately injures another will himself have to suffer some pain similar to that which he has inflicted, and that, furthermore, he will not be permitted to mix again with the community, till his savage nature has been tamed by solitary confinement and remedial treatment.

But while our punishments for crimes against the person are miserably insufficient, those for crimes against property are often equally harsh or cruel, and, in some cases, the nature of the punishment is most unwise, as for instance, the treadmill and the convict-

gang system. The treadmill is not only unwise but unjust. Unjust because the old offenders and the strong find it comparatively easy, while the weakly either suffer most disproportionately, often meeting with severe accidents,* or escape altogether, being reported by the surgeon as physically unfit to undergo the punishment.† Unwise, because its tendency is quite the reverse of remedial. If the desire of the community had been to make labour utterly distasteful, no surer means could have been devised than the monotonous, heavy, useless wheel. Its effect was fairly expressed by a prisoner, who on leaving gaol said, "Well! I never loved work, but I hate it more now than ever." How contrary to such barbarous and useless treatment is that which a just principle of

* Twelve such accidents were recently reported to have happened in one gaol.

† About 20 per cent. of all condemned to the treadmill.

punishment would dictate, and which our "Old Book" prescribes: "If a thief be taken let him make restitution." Let the law require that he shall remain in prison till he has repaid what he has stolen, as well as the cost of his living. Let this be firmly enforced; let the rogue and vagabond be made to feel that he must work, whether he be in prison or at liberty, and we shall need no treadmill, crank, or other barbarism.

Lest the idea of making thieves support themselves and repay their theft should appear chimerical, several prisons may be quoted as having been made partly or wholly self-supporting, and in some cases even remunerative. One of the chief prisons in the United States contributes £5,000 a year to the revenue, besides being self-supporting, while the Philadelphia City Prison is nearly so. In England, the results in different

prisons are very suggestive of the imperfect way in which we are working. Thus in Stafford Gaol, the earnings are £5 for each prisoner per annum; in Wakefield Gaol, £7; the average cost to the community of each criminal being about £32 per annum. In Rutland County Gaol, each prisoner costs £125 a year, and earns nothing. How patient are English taxpayers!

There is no great difficulty in making criminals self-supporting to a very considerable extent, provided intelligent, earnest men are placed at the head of prisons, and the effect may be aptly illustrated by the following anecdote. A prisoner was receiving his discharge from the governor, who had during his incarceration enforced hard remunerative occupation, and now, on leaving, explained his reasons for doing so. "Do you mean to say," said the prisoner, "that I have earned

so much towards your salary?" "Yes," replied the governor, "you have earned for the gaol nearly double the cost of your keep, and so much for me for keeping you at work." "Then you shall *never* see me here again," exclaimed the man with excessive annoyance. There can be no doubt but that criminals often reflect with a sort of savage satisfaction that at present they are making the community pay heavily, for keeping them shut up.

Another most important point in the remedial treatment of prisoners is to keep them absolutely separate. In this respect our present mode of action is very strange. Our convicts are first subjected to solitary confinement for nine months, and then are thrown together in gangs where every corruption festers and gangrenes among the whole mass. We find the same evil to some extent in many county

gaols, where the prisoners work together in large rooms, and in spite of every precaution communicate with one another.

For purposes of reformation total seclusion from other prisoners is of primary importance. We do not advocate the fearful silent system, but rather one which would give every facility to persons of good character to visit criminals. Solitary confinement opens the ground, but human sympathy must put in the seed. Above all, the criminal must be kept away from pernicious contact with other criminals, if that good seed is to have any chance of growth.

We noticed before how public opinion has fluctuated, now leaning to extreme harshness, now to excessive lenity. It is sad to see how rapidly similar transitions take place in all matters in this country.

A short time ago our poor were being demoralised by the abundance of so-called charity; now, because certain classes of workmen have naturally raised prices by means of strikes, comfortable cynics deny that there are any poor left to require help at all.

Not long since a popular novelist ridiculed the morbid feeling which felt no pity except for the convicted criminal, and then made him an object of envy to the honest poor. Now, the public mind can hardly be persuaded that crimes against society are sufficiently punished, although in one convict prison (Chatham) out of 1,692 prisoners 487 met with accidents, and 24 mutilated themselves to obtain some relief, while 1,725 admissions were granted to the hospital. Alas! that the hour should still seem distant when the glorious truth shall be thoroughly

understood, that the one thing for which all creation is groaning is Justice. Justice from the strong to the weak; from the rich to the poor, and from the poor to the rich. Justice from the well-educated, well-trained Pharisee to the child of shame, bred in an atmosphere where wrong is counted right, and right is scorned. Justice, whose essence is "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye so to them likewise."

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

DWELLINGS OF THE POOR.

EXTRACT from the speech of Mr. Cross, 8th February, 1875 :—

“Then it is not simply that houses are overcrowded, but districts are overcrowded, and the air is vitiated. I know of one place in St. Giles where there are 70 streets close together without one single thoroughfare through which the residents can get a breath of pure air. The only way in which you can get into these districts is to cut a thoroughfare right through them. In some cases the houses are engrained with disease, no expenditure of money upon them can make them healthy, and the only practical way of dealing with them is to pull them down. Family after family goes into a house, and it is certain to catch the fever which has killed off the previous occupants; and, unless you step

in and interfere, this will go on for ages. In many cases you find that houses are built upon ground that is saturated with everything that is abominable, miasma rises from the ground through the houses, and nothing can be done to cure this unless you make a clean sweep of the houses."

"DR. WHITMORE, the Medical Officer of Health for St. Marylebone, in his monthly report as to the health and sanitary condition of that district, draws a terrible picture of the existing dwellings of the poor, even in that locality, showing the necessity for still more stringent powers than the Artisans' and Labourers' Dwelling Act possesses to compel the owners of such disgraceful property as that described to do their duty by their tenants. Dr. Whitmore remarks :—' The great and growing necessity for improvement among the dwellings of the poor and industrial classes, not only in this parish but, throughout the metropolis generally, becomes every now and then strikingly manifest. My attention has recently been called to the condition of certain tenements in Marylebone Lane. One of these contains 19 rooms, which would appear to have been originally constructed with most especial disregard to order in arrangement, uniformity, or convenience. Every part of this most miserable abode is in a ruinous and dilapidated condition ; the flooring of the rooms and staircases is worn into

holes and broken away, the plaster is crumbling from the walls, the roofs let in the wind and the rain, the drains are very defective, and the general aspect of the place is one of extreme wretchedness. The number of persons living in this house is 47. My first impulse was to declare the house unfit for human habitation, and by means of a magistrate's order, to remove the inmates at once. A moment's reflection, however, convinced me that by adopting that course I should really accomplish no good object, inasmuch as the poor people, thus suddenly ejected, would be compelled to seek shelter in dwellings probably more crowded and in an equally bad sanitary condition. The utmost amount of sanitary work the Vestry has power to enforce has, of course, been ordered, and when completed may be productive of some little benefit to the comfort and convenience of the poor tenants and their families, but no amount of work short of entire reconstruction can render it, in the proper acceptance of the word, a healthy dwelling. — *Times*, 11th March, 1874.

CHILDREN AND THE LAW.

THE following painful account appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* of January 5, 1875 :—

"THEFTS BY CHILDREN AT STALYBRIDGE.

" At the Stalybridge Borough Court, yesterday (before Messrs. John Hyde, J. Donnell, F. J. Roberts, — Dudley, and T. Fernihough), James Henry Knott, *aged eleven years*, and William Blundell, *aged seven years*, were charged with stealing a purse containing 15s. 3d. from Ann Jane Fielding, wife of Samuel Fielding, on New Year's Eve.

" The mother of Blundell was apprehended for being drunk and disorderly on New Year's Eve. Whilst she was drunk Blundell went into Mr. Davis' (butcher) shop, and was joined by his brother Richard, *aged five years*, *who was in a state of drunkenness*. Knott kept guard against the door. Mrs. Fielding was purchasing some meat in the shop, and she felt the two Blundells push against her. Soon after leaving the place she missed her purse and money. Meanwhile the prisoner Blundell told Knott he had got a purse, and he went to Blundell's house to divide the money. Information was given to the police, and Constable Relton visited the house, where

he found the prisoners, Knott's younger brother, and Richard Blundell, aged five years, who sat drunk in a chair. The boys had divided the money and sent for some whisky. Prisoner Knott gave up the purse and 2s. 9d. and Blundell pointed to some bricks in the back kitchen, under which the constable found 20s. 6d. in silver.

"Blundell now pleaded guilty, and Knott pleaded not guilty.—Mr. Hyde: Knott, in your case we shall commit you for trial at the Knutsford sessions. You have already been committed for twenty-one days, six weeks, and three months three times over; you have had twelve strokes with a birch rod, and here you are again. You will get a long term of imprisonment I have no doubt whatever.

"There was a second charge against Blundell, and the magistrates decided to hear it before passing sentence. William Blundell and Samuel Powell (aged eleven years) were then charged with stealing 5s. 6d. from the person of Mary Keefe on the 30th ult. A little boy named John Andrews was in custody on the same charge, but he was called to give evidence. Mrs. Keefe said that at six o'clock on the night in question she was looking at a tea shop in Melbourne Street. There were a number of persons near the window, and she noticed the boys running about. In a few minutes she missed her money. The boy Andrews made the following statement:—I am

ten years of age. Last Wednesday evening I was with the two prisoners near to Mr. Fernley's tea shop in Melbourne Street. I saw some women there. Blundell gave me 5*d.* and Powell 6*d.* Powell said Blundell had just got the money out of a woman's pocket by the side of the tea shop. Before the robbery we were talking about money, and Blundell said he could soon get some. He told us that a short time since he took a sovereign and a pawnticket out of a woman's pocket in the market. He said he had taken money from lots of people; that he had been to Aston and Oldham, and had done a good deal of that sort of work. He said he always got a good lot of money at Oldham, and we waited whilst he went among the women, and it was after that he brought me 5*d.*

"Blundell pleaded guilty, and Powell not guilty. Mr. Hyde: We scarcely know what to do with such characters. Powell has already been up three times for felony and once for burglary, but we are going to give him another chance. We shall discharge him, in the hope that he will go to school and get reformed. We are reluctant to send such a child as Blundell to prison; but he has proved himself to be such an expert thief that we can't let him at liberty again on society without giving him some punishment. He will have to go to prison for *seven days' hard labour in each case.*"

(For a number of somewhat similar instances the reader is referred to a recent work entitled "The Gaol Cradle," published by Daldy, Isbister & Co., Ludgate Hill, London, 1875.)

RELIEF OF POOR.

THE following description of "Relief" of the poor in London is given by a metropolitan journal January 8, 1875. It occurred at the out relief offices of the "City of London Union" :—

"The day was a bitterly cold one, and, says an eye-witness, the place was crammed by about two thousand people seeking relief. Many of those he saw at half-past two o'clock in the day had been waiting there ever since ten o'clock in the morning. Some were carried out faint, sick, and exhausted, while at the hour named only two persons were distributing relief, five officers being absent from various causes. The board were moved by this

statement to the extent of instituting an inquiry into the matter, which may probably prevent a repetition of these mistakes at the particular offices in question ; but how long will it be before, as a matter of course, all arrangements for dispensing relief include at least a rough guess at the probable number of applicants, and a little effort to collect a sufficient staff for the occasion.—*The Echo.*

NEGLECT OF AGED PAUPERS.

THE *Globe* of January 9, 1875, records the following :—

“ An inquiry was held last evening by Mr. Bedford, the Westminster coroner, into the circumstances attending the death of Thomas Nolan, aged seventy-seven, of No. 2, Dufour Place, Soho, who was alleged to have died from privation in consequence of the stoppage of parish relief by the guardians, and the neglect of one of the relieving officers. The wife of the deceased was confined to the house in consequence of her infirmities and advanced age, she being seventy-eight years old. The old couple had been in receipt of parish relief, but the amount was not sufficient to pay the rent of their room, and the

old man used to go out and beg when he was able. Six weeks ago the parish relief was stopped, and the alternative of the workhouse offered, but, thinking the guardians would relent, the Nolans declined to go into it. After the relief was stopped they "lived how they could." A painful incident in the inquiry was the examination of Mrs. Nolan, who was in so feeble a condition that she was carried into the court in an easy chair. She was evidently suffering from lung disease, and she wept bitterly the whole time she was under examination. The jury were loud in their complaints against the maladministration of relief to the poor, and after a stormy deliberation, lasting twenty minutes, returned a verdict of 'Death from natural causes,' and appended as a rider thereto their opinion that the relieving officer did not do his duty, and had been guilty of negligence in not looking after the aged couple as he should have done."

The Editor adds this remark :—

"No doubt the problem of how to afford sufficient assistance without tending to pauperise the population bristles with difficulties. Outdoor relief, unless administered with the nicest discrimination, undoubtedly has that pernicious effect, while a sense of pride prevents many of the poor from entering the workhouse, even to

escape starvation. Yet difficult as the dilemma undoubtedly is, it will soon have to be faced, since the nation will not much longer tolerate a system which, in practice, tends to pauperise the masses, while allowing poor old creatures like Nolan and his wife to die of hunger."

INADEQUATE SENTENCES.

BARBAROUS CRUELTY TO AN INFANT.

From the *Echo*, February 2nd, 1874.—"Our correspondent telegraphs that—At March, Thomas Vernon, of Liverpool, was committed for *one month* for brutally ill-treating a child thirteen months old. Mrs. Hart proved that the prisoner asked for lodgings for himself, wife, and babe, and, on being refused, said, 'If it was not for this little —— we could get lodgings anywhere.' He struck the infant in the face with his clenched fist five or six times till the blood gushed from its eyes, nose, mouth and ears, and he then grasped its throat and hit it again. Thomas O'Connor, surgeon, spoke of the marks about the child's face, breast, and under each ear. There was also a swelling on its throat, and it had one arm broken. The child's life was in danger. Great astonishment was expressed at the lenient sentence passed on the prisoner.

PENALTY OF ONLY FIVE SHILLINGS FOR GROSS CRUELTY.

"A penalty of 5s. and costs was imposed by the Welshpool Court of Petty Sessions, on Richard Thomas Stockton, a miller, for cruelty to a number of fowls. It appeared that he tied twenty-four of these birds together by the legs and allowed them to roll out of a cart, and had left them as so much lumber, till four died, and the rest were much exhausted."—*Globe*, September 10th, 1873.

CRUELTY TO A DONKEY.

Liverpool Police Court, September 10th, 1873 (before Mr. Raffles).—"William Levery, Opie Street, was charged by Inspector Mitchell, of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, with cruelly beating a donkey with a stick, in which a pin was inserted; also kicking the same animal, which had a sore shoulder. He was fined 5s. and costs."—*Liverpool Mercury*.

HORRIBLE CRUELTY BY A FATHER.

At the Brentford Police Court (August, 1873), John Moles, a barge labourer, was charged with violently assaulting his son, John T. Moles, a child *six* years of age. The chief witness, Mr. C. Bond, a ginger-beer manufacturer, stated that he saw the prisoner running after the child, who endeavoured to escape behind a cart, and pleaded for mercy as it ran. Prisoner, how

ever, caught it, and, taking it up by both arms, twisted its back in a violent manner. He then took it by the legs, lifted it above his head, and dashed it on the stones twice. The child lay on the ground as though unable to move, and prisoner went up and kicked it in the small of the back with his heavy shoes. Witness begged of the prisoner not to further ill-treat the child but he took no notice, and, taking up the child, he struck it on the head with his clenched fist as hard as he could, making the blood gush from its nose. He continued to beat it all up the street, and witness, failing to induce him to leave off, went for the police. Detective Christie, who was called by the last witness, said he found the child very much bruised about the face and body and covered with blood. He took the prisoner into custody and had the child conveyed to the workhouse. Prisoner was *not drunk*."—*Daily News*, September 1st, 1873.

The *Globe*, September 8th, 1873, adds: "The child's nose was broken and its skull nearly fractured. The prisoner cried a good deal at the trial. A good character was given. Sentence, only *six months' imprisonment with hard labour* !

CONVICT GANG SYSTEM.

NEEDFUL REFORM OF CONVICT PRISONS.

In a recent work entitled "The Defects of English Prisons," (London, S. Harris & Co., 5, Bishopsgate Without, E.C.), the author suggests the following as being the needed improvements in which the British and Irish convict systems are lacking :—

"1. An abandonment of the congregate gang system, which has been, over and over again, condemned by the best authorities on prison discipline as *inevitably* corrupting.

"2. The adoption of separate imprisonment, with abundant cellular instruction, useful occupation, exercise, and both official and voluntary (judicious) visitation.

"3. This being effected, the present long sentences may, with safety and benefit to all concerned, *be reduced one-half or three-fourths in duration*, thereby causing a vast saving to the nation, with more reformation, and the avoidance of the cruel and needless breaking-up of family ties which at present punishes so many innocent relatives of prisoners, and throws additional burdens upon the ratepayers.

"4. Less uncontrolled inspection, and more combination of the *local* magistracy and philanthropy with convict administration and visitation.

"5. The worst class of convicts, as those guilty of rape or cruelty, to be separated from the others, and subjected to longer terms and more stringent conditions. (Seventy-five per cent. of convicts are guilty of the *less* heinous offences of theft, &c.)

"6. Those confined under life sentences (for murder) should be placed in entirely separate prisons, as a class by themselves, and under a treatment adapted to their special circumstances.

"7. Imbecile or semi-imbecile convicts, also, should be entirely separated from others, and placed under a much milder and more considerate treatment.

"8. More provision for the aid of discharged convicts, by affording them the opportunity of earning, in prison, a larger share than at present of the profits of their labour.

"9. More regard to be had to special qualification for the service, in the appointment of all officials, from the directors down to the warders."

USEFUL LABOUR IN CONVICT PRISONS.

It must be fairly conceded that our convicts are taught much useful labour, and that

many of the officials are anxious to do their duty towards those under their care. But the system greatly impedes them.

“ Under the chief direction of Colonel E. F. Du Cane these (eleven) prisons are the scenes of a vast amount of useful and varied industrial labour, making docks, breakwaters, building, smith work, brick-making, carving, casting, &c., &c. (upwards of thirty different kinds of industry). A beautiful church at Portland has been wholly built by convicts, most of whom had to be taught their work as they went on. At Woking, amongst the female prisoners, tailoring, has lately been introduced to a large extent, both by hand and machine work. Most of them so employed were totally ignorant of it before. Many others there are employed at mosaic work, but this is of little or no use after discharge. At Chatham, a large new prison—at a considerable distance from the old one—is being built by the convicts. Portland, Portsmouth, Dartmoor, and Parkhurst, continue to train many of their inmates in useful and profitable occupations.

SCRIPTURAL TREATMENT OF CRIMINALS.

A recent pamphlet “ *Humanity and Humanitarianism,*” remarks :—

“ There are too opposite extremes, each mischievous to

all parties concerned, towards which systems of criminal treatment are in turn liable to tend. Either, with a narrow heedlessness of the causes of crime, they are apt to aim at mere vindictive chastisement, almost always proved by the results to be ineffectual, even for deterrence; or, with humane intentions, they permit such relaxations of needful stringency as to render the condition of the criminal more comfortable and desirable than that of the honest toiling poor, and so increase, rather than decrease, the ranks of offenders.

“Hence, notwithstanding the progress of the age in many important movements, there has been comparatively little sustained adoption of a system combining effectually deterrence with reformation, by making it the basis of prison discipline to compel every offender to render both amends and *restitution*, so far as possible, to the State, or to those whom he has injured; and, at the same time, by a sufficiently prolonged course of labour and instruction, to form such *habits* of industry and virtue as shall furnish to the criminal himself the education and guidance which every member of human society needs from some quarter, either private or public, but which so large a number fail to receive in time to prevent evil courses. This twofold principle of treatment is both preventive and restorative, both beneficent and punitive. It combines the two Scriptural principles of retributive

justice and humane consideration. It reconciles 'eye for eye and tooth for tooth' with 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' It unites the Mosaic command relative to the stealer of property—'He shall make *restitution* unto the owner thereof;' (Exodus xxii. 12), with the New Testament precepts—'Even when we were with you this we commanded you, That if any would not work neither should he eat;' (2 Thes. iii., 10), and 'Let him that stole steal no more, but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good;' (Ephes. iv. 28).

"Crime must be rendered really *unprofitable* to the criminal. His idle habits must be effectually altered, which cannot be done by the system so prevalent in Great Britain, of causing scores of thousands of offenders to play at 'bo-peep' with their jailors, by successive sentences of imprisonment for week upon week and fortnight upon fortnight—a system which brings the law and magistracy into contempt; effects no reformation, but does great mischief by its degrading effects; affords no time for the formation, or even inculcation, of right habits; and saddles the honest ratepayer with enormous costs which are a sheer dead loss, in addition to the other injuries he has to suffer from this class of misdemeanants. For example, in one prison, that of Dundee, by no means an extraordinarily unfavourable

illustration, the official report for 1869 admitted that 'No fewer than fifty-three of the prisoners had been convicted upwards of fifty times.' What a failure of the present system does this prove."

There are *two* distinct classes of prisons in this country.

1. COUNTY AND BOROUGH GAOLS. For ordinary offenders, whose sentences do not exceed two years. (There are no sentences of three or four years passed now).

2. CONVICT PRISONS. (Sometimes called Government prisons, being directly under the control of the Government through the Home Secretary and the Chairman of Directors of the Convict Prisons). These are for criminals sentenced to "*Penal Servitude*." The *shortest* sentence to these prisons is for five years.

Convicts have to spend the first nine months of their sentence in *separate* con-

finement in one of the *cellular* prisons of Pentonville, or Millbank, or Mountjoy in Ireland.) The remainder of their terms, forming the principal portion of the time, is occupied in working in the Gang Prisons, or on Convict Public Works—viz., Chatham, Portsmouth, Portland, Woking, Dartmoor, Parkhurst, and Spike Island (near Cork).

EVILS OF THE GANG SYSTEM.

In January, 1875, a convict upon leave, William Rowe, who had been arrested for a crime committed only one week after his discharge from a convict prison, Parkhurst (so much for the “deterrent” or “reformatory” effect of the discipline!) thus addressed the Recorder before receiving sentence :—

“May it please you, sir,—Having pleaded guilty to the charge laid against me, I beg permission to say a few words in the hope that it may influence you in the sentence you may deem right to pass upon me, and which I

earnestly hope may prevent my being sent into penal servitude again. I do not expect leniency, nor do I ask it, but implore that the sentence you give will be such as to prove really beneficial to me in a moral point of view, so that when finished I may come out into the world at least capable of resisting temptation, of acting honestly and justly in my dealings with men. That such cannot be the case if I am sentenced to penal servitude I will endeavour as briefly as possible to show.

“You are aware, of course, that I am now what is familiarly known as a ‘ticket of leave.’ I have consequently passed a term of years in our Government convict establishments. I do not wish to enter into the history of those years, and will go on at once to say that I have found from bitter experience that, as a rule, the discipline and general treatment of those places, instead of reforming, or even deterring, tend only to demoralise and brutalise the criminals subject to them, making them callous and indifferent to their fate, and also adepts in all kinds of cunning, duplicity, and deceit, thereby rendering them, when their sentences have expired, totally unfit to mix again with the world and honest people. There are, I know, sir, some honourable exceptions to this rule; but these exceptions are very few, and they are not due to the discipline and life experienced in the prisons, but in spite of them.

“One of the great causes of this evil lies in the fact that all convicts are constantly thrown into the society of each other. Convicts who have committed their first crime, or at least have not before been allowed to talk with such men, are obliged for years to become the intimate associates of the very worst class of society, men as bad, and oftentimes worse than themselves, who are ready, and only too glad, to impart to their less experienced brethren their ingenuity in the art of thieving, and their so-called ‘success’ in crime, painting in glowing colours the ‘advantages’ that sometimes accrue to the successful thief. This constant association and companionship works upon the actions of all classes of convicts, virtually doing away with any good effect from their long sentences.

“For after their first twelve months (nine of which are passed in separate confinement) their punishment really becomes none at all to them, surrounded as they are by a large class of ‘devil-may-care’ men, whose lives show that they have long since utterly repudiated the good or bad opinion of the world. With these men the new convict soon unlearns the little good he may have learnt while in separate confinement, and whatever he may have been before he now usually becomes comparatively dead to all sense of shame, his mind gets closed up and frozen over, he is stolidly indifferent as to his position, past, present,

and prospective, and making the prison a little world of his own (as they are allowed to), he enters heartily into the petty schemes and devices of his fellow prisoners to evade the rules and deceive the authorities.

“Another great evil in the present system of governing our convicts, and which tends in a great measure to bring about that state of things I have mentioned, is the utter want of sympathy between the authorities and the prisoners. Even in the chaplain’s department it is not allowed, and religious talk on conversion is not encouraged. Certainly the Sacrament is administered three or four times a year to all who choose to partake of it, but it is attended not by the better class of prisoners (and there are a few such) any more than by the openly profane and disreputable. But three-fourths of the men who attend—and there were about thirty who did so out of a total of six hundred at the prison I more particularly know of, viz., Parkhurst, Isle of Wight—proved themselves by their everyday actions, as well as by their lives after they left, to be the veriest hypocrites in existence. The vilest wretch in the prison could give in his name as a communicant, and if he had been three consecutive months clear of prison punishment (no very hard matter) he was admitted without question. A tract was brought to him by a schoolmaster treating upon the subject, and so the matter ended. If one of his companions had asked

him why he went he, no doubt, would have replied, 'I went to gain or work a point.'

"I could speak of the bad example set to prisoners by the subordinate officers of the prison, whose only qualification for their office consists in their being in the army or navy a number of years with good characters for martial discipline, morality not being a necessary adjunct, and as a natural sequence I have known several cases of officers getting four, six, twelve, and even more months' imprisonment for robbery and fraud connected with the prison. In others, where the cases have not been fully proved or not of so flagrant a nature, they have been discharged, or perhaps only disgraced and sent to some other prison.

"Many other instances I could quote showing that our convict establishments, as they now are conducted (however, highly they may be praised by interested parties) are nothing more than hotbeds and nurseries of vice and crime.

"But I have said enough, I trust, sir, to prove that they are not fit places to send criminals, however far they may be fallen in the social scale, and more especially if they are desirous of leading an honest life after their punishment is ended. The question may naturally arise, 'Why, knowing and feeling this, did you immediately return to the paths of crime?' Sir, it is only since I com-

mitted the crime I am charged with that I have felt any repulsion either towards crime or its consequences. But that I felt before I was apprehended, and that feeling it was which prompted me to return to the lady prosecutrix, Miss Nicholl, the books and papers which formed part of the property I had stolen, together with the letter, in which I informed her of my intention to leave the country and try in another world to gain an honest livelihood, and as soon as possible refund the money I had stolen. In conclusion, sir, I do not, as I said at the beginning, ask for leniency.

“ I know I do not deserve that, and therefore have no right to expect it ; but I earnestly beg that you will pass upon me a sentence of *separate and solitary* confinement, in order that I may be able to retire into myself, and with the consequence of guilt ever before me I may be able to give up this damning mania for thieving, so that, should I be spared to complete it, I may go forth into the world prepared to fight against temptation, and become, in however humble a sphere, an honest and I trust a useful member of society, I would add, sir, that a very sad death in my family, which is of far too sacred import to speak of here, more than to say it was caused by my former crime and sentence of penal servitude, but of which I was entirely *ignorant* until I went to London after I committed the

crime I am now charged with—it is the knowledge of that, sir, which impels me to beg a term of solitary confinement, believing it will be the means of saving me from irretrievable ruin, as the circumstance alluded to has brought me to a true sense of my wrong doing, and done far more good for me than any term of imprisonment would otherwise have done. If, therefore, you would be pleased, sir, to pass upon me a term of separate confinement (thereby giving me a chance of amending my life, by looking at the follies of the past, and resolving for the future in the solitude of my cell, and I trust the purposes of justice will be fully satisfied by so doing), you will confer on me not only a lasting, but, I humbly hope, an eternal benefit.

“WILLIAM ROWE.”

“While reading the latter portion of this address tears ran down the cheeks of the prisoner, and his voice betrayed much emotion.

“He was sentenced to seven years’ penal servitude, with five years’ police supervision at the expiration of the term.”

This convict’s description of the demoralising influence of the Gang System is abundantly confirmed by officers of all grades in the convict service.

A convict officer recently wrote to the Howard Association :—" I believe that almost every officer in the convict service is against the gang system. They know too well its evil effects. We could supply you with overwhelming proofs."

REVOLTS.

Amongst the incidental evils of the gang system are the facilities it affords for outbreaks. At Chatham Prison in particular there have been the most violent outbreaks on various occasions. At Portland, in April, 1874, a gang of twelve desperately assaulted and wounded the warders, after which five prisoners barricaded themselves in a cell. At Dartmoor, in June, 1874, three convicts broke away from a gang and had to be shot down, though not mortally. At Chatham, also, several prisoners on the works savagely assailed their keepers. Various other out-

breaks have also occurred in the convict prisons. As the *Daily Telegraph* remarked (in June of the same year): "We do not, perhaps, hear of one tithe of the assaults committed on the warders in these establishments." But it is a rare thing for such outbreaks to happen under the separate system, as in county gaols. The Governor of Bodmin Gaol said to Mr. Tallack lately: "Our prisoners are all separated, at all times. Hence they are never a body, *and they never feel themselves a power.*" *Moral* contamination and *physical* contagion are thus both alike prevented by separation.

SELF-MUTILATIONS BY CONVICTS.

The miseries of the gang system have often driven the men to inflict severe injuries even on themselves, with a view to escape (even at the risk of their lives in many cases) from

THE ORDINARY OF NEWGATE ON CONVICT GANGS.

The *Times* of January 1, 1875, contained the following instructive observations by the Ordinary of Newgate Goal :—

“ When he regarded the batches of prisoners sentenced to penal servitude after each sessions, composed as they were of men of every rank and grade in society, he could not but deeply regret that it should ever be possible for them to speak of their experiences, or to express their vile sentiments to those who were less hardened than themselves, or to have the opportunity of affecting, bearing down, and stifling with the overwhelming weight of their own evil dispositions some germ of reformation in others. In these batches of convicts might be found men whose natures were as far apart as the poles. To give each prisoner the best opportunity for reforming, to each should be afforded those conditions most favourable to reformation. The novice should not be so placed as to be influenced by the matured wickedness of the hardened criminal ; the latter should be deprived of that opportunity which he so much prized, and never failed to use, of parading, in all the pride of his depraved nature, those acts of his life which should be his shame. It had been and still was the Ordinary's impression that those who laboured for the reformation of criminals had by no

means the best chance of accomplishing the object for which they strived until a system was organised for the careful classification of prisoners. By indiscriminately associating old offenders with first offenders in the convict prisons, they would bring down men comparatively pure to the depraved notions and feelings of those whose lives had been one catalogue of crime. In Newgate the separate system was of the greatest value in that respect. There was nothing to hinder any one who chose from yielding to the good advice which he received, backed as it was by his enforced reflection upon the consequences which were inseparable from an evil life. During the nine months of probation, as they were termed, which immediately followed a sentence of penal servitude, everything was favourable to reformation. Every prisoner was easily accessible to the chaplain; and the separate system, so far as communication of prisoners with each other was concerned, was as limited as possible. But all that was entirely altered when convicts arrived at the public works prisons. There men laboured together in gangs of from ten or fifteen to fifty, and communication was easy and incessant. It mattered not what a man might have been; according to the amount of bone and muscle which each individual possessed, he was draughted into a hard or light labour gang. A 'gentleman' for forgery, a clerk for embezzlement, a postman for stealing

letters, a soldier for some military offence, a youth the victim of some sudden outburst of passion, the man for years respectable and respected who in the moment of irritation had dealt a fatal blow, and the hardened and habitual criminal, were all herded together in those working parties. That was certainly not the classification likely to promote moral reformation, but the contrary. At Portland the good results of separating first offenders from those who were undergoing sentence after second and third convictions, and of incorrigible offenders against prison rules, from those who were orderly and well-behaved, were fully apparent, and why, then, should not the system be largely developed? By a judicious classification, for there was abundance of material in the authentic history of each convict's career to make such a classification, they might look with the most sanguine expectations for still more extensive and positively good results. He did not mean to say that bone and muscle should not be the test of fitness for the hard or light labour gang, but he knew that each body contained a spirit and soul, with its emotions and feelings, and capabilities for amendment of life, and if reformation, as he maintained it was, was part—and that not the least important—of our penal system, then let every chance be given and every means used to promote it to the utmost extent.

THE EVIL EFFECTS OF BRINGING UP CHILDREN IN LARGE
PAUPER SCHOOLS.

“It is stated in a recent issue of the London *City Press* that at a recent meeting of the Holborn Board of Guardians, great complaints were made of the continuing prevalence of ophthalmia amongst the pauper children in the Mitcham Schools. Mr. Hedley, the Government Inspector, said that, ‘the hospital at Mitcham was of the most improved character, and yet in it he found upwards of thirty children all suffering from acute ophthalmia.’ He urged the guardians to send no more children there, but keep them in the workhouse. This recommendation elicited a protest from a guardian, who protested against exposing the poor children to the vicious example of elder paupers and ‘all the blasphemy common to such places.’ Another guardian, speaking of the Mitcham Schools, said, ‘they had spent £28,000 on the wretched place.’ It was added that the children are now costing 9s. 0½d. per head per week !”

This almost insuperable tendency of the District Schools to generate ophthalmia is acknowledged by Dr. Bridges, in his report inserted in the annual Blue Book of the

Local Government Board for 1874. He states :—

“I have never as yet visited a pauper school from which ophthalmia in one form or other was entirely absent.”

In the same Blue Book, Mrs. Senior (an Inspector) reports :—

“In one school I saw a child of six years old whose language was so horrible that the matron was obliged to send her as soon as lessons were over to one of the dormitories, in order to get her away from the other children. She was probably too young to know that it was to her interest to hold her tongue in the presence of the officers. In a few years she would be more cunning, and keep her bad language for the playground and dormitories. Another matron told me of a family of sisters who used to go in and out with their parents; the children returned each time more and more versed in sin and exercised a very bad influence on the other girls. Among many officers who regretted the present system of mixing the two classes of children, . . . one school-mistress told me that the horrors which some children coming from low homes talked of could hardly be

imagined ; things of which she had no idea till she learnt them from the children.

“ Notwithstanding it is true that some of the officers and inspectors of pauper establishments hold strong opinions as to the necessity of combining the orphans with the casuals. Thus in the Local Government Board Report for 1873, Mr. Tufnell asserted that ‘ the casuals get moralised by the orphan class.’ Whilst this may occasionally be the case to some extent, yet by the daily observed laws of human nature, and also on Scriptural authority, the general result cannot fail to be other than that ‘ evil communications corrupt good manners.’ It is unjust and cruel to the better class of orphans to associate them habitually with casuals of such a class that an Inspector declares in the 1874 Report, that a school wholly composed of them would be ‘ *a hell upon earth.*’

“ The real education that the children need is that of being trained to *do* useful things in a practical handy way. Where are they likely to learn this—in the everyday life of an industrious household, in conjunction with attendance at a day-school, or in the comparatively artificial helplessness of a crowded pauper boarding school? As Mr. Peel (late of the Poor Law Board) observes, in such cases “ no family or domestic ties of any kind are established ” in these institutions. But, as another authority of much experience remarks, ‘ Family

life is *God's own method of training*, and the further we depart from it the more we shall suffer in consequence.' One of the Guardians of the Bath Union (Colonel Grant) writes of the pauper children—'They come out nearly useless. They are afraid to put out a candle; they cannot light a fire.' And Sir John MacNeill (chief of the Scotch Poor Law authorities), from his observation, declares that 'every child brought up in a poor-house is in heart a pauper.' Hence even, on grounds of economy alone, it is most undesirable so to train up workhouse children as to render them life-long dead-weights upon the rate-payers. But it is difficult, if not impossible, to avoid this, except by the boarding-out system."

An interesting article in a recent number of the "Cornhill Magazine" thus illustrates the unpractical training given to pauper girls in the large schools, as narrated in the words of a little household drudge of this class:—

" 'Oh, I've been a servant for years!' said the little thing, who was ready enough to tell us all about herself. 'I learn't ironing off the lady; I didn't know nothing about anything. I didn't know where to buy the wood for the fire,' exploding with laughter at the idea. 'I run

along the street and asked the first person I saw where the wood shop was. I was frightened—oh, I was. They wasn't particular kind in my first place. I had plenty to eat—it wasn't anything of that. They jest give me an egg, and they says, 'There, get your dinner,' but not anything more. I had always slep in a ward full of other girls, and there I was all alone, and this was a great big house—oh, so big! and they told me to go downstairs, in a room by the kitchen all alone, with a long black passage. I got to break everything, I was so frightened; things tumbled down, I shook so, and they sent me back to Mrs.—, at the schools. They said I was no good, as I broke everything; and so I did—oh, I was frightened! Then I got a place in a family where there was nine children. I was about fourteen then. I earned 2s. a week. I used to get up and light the fire, bath them and dress them, and git their breakfasts, and the lady sometimes would go up to London on business, and then I had the baby too, and it couldn't be left, and had to be fed. I'd take them all out for a walk on the common. There was one a cripple. She couldn't walk about. I used to carry her on my back. Then there was dinner, and to wash up after; and then by that time it would be tea agin. And then I had to put the nine children to bed and bath them, and clean up the rooms and the fires at night; there was no time in the morning. And then

there would be the gen'lman's supper to get. Oh ! that was a hard place.'"

It is true that considerable attention is devoted in the District Schools to teaching the children geography, spelling, and reading. But these things are of far less value than a knowledge of household duties and family life of which the District School children are so grossly ignorant. As a writer quoted in the 1874 Report of the Local Government Board observes :—

"A girl is not necessarily a better woman, because she knows the height of all the mountains of Europe and can work out a fraction in her head ; but she is decidedly better fitted for the duties she will be called upon to perform in life if she knows how to wash and tend a child, cook simple food well, and thoroughly clean a house. To do these duties really well requires not only intelligence, but special training.

"It was officially reported in Parliament of June 16, 1874, that of 407 children admitted during the year into the St. Pancras Workhouse, London, eighty-nine had

died, showing a death-rate of 215 per 1,000 per annum ! This, it may be granted, is a very exceptional case, but it shows what may happen, under the existing system, in spite of many endeavours to prevent abuses.

“ But perhaps the strongest condemnation of the District Schools has arisen from the issue of the Report, 1873-4, of the Local Government Board, containing a remarkable series of investigations recently made, on behalf of the Government, by a lady Inspector, the first of the sex so appointed in Great Britain, Mrs. Nassau Senior. She has had careful inquiry made into the careers of *all* the girls sent out to service, from *all* the metropolitan pauper schools, during the years 1871—72. Of these, 670 in number altogether, information could only be obtained respecting the careers of 490. A majority of these, or 54 per cent., were found to have turned out in a manner officially characterised as ‘unsatisfactory,’ or ‘bad.’ Such an exhaustive investigation can hardly be regarded otherwise than as decisively condemnatory of the existing system, at least so far as the metropolitan districts are concerned.’

Mrs. Senior is supported in her conclusions by a number of independent and thoroughly reliable authorities. For example the annual

Report of the Rescue Society of London,
for 1874, states at page 12 :—

“This Society has received under its care large numbers of girls trained in district schools, who have been found upon the streets pursuing an abandoned course. Its committee can, and does cheerfully bear testimony to the deep interest taken in the welfare of the children by the governors and matrons, and especially by the chaplains attached to the schools; but the *system* is, Committee think, wrong, and the chief error that which they have referred to. The system of large institutions is bad, even for comparatively innocent children. Many of the inmates of the district schools are vicious. These are intermixed with the better inclined and better trained, and contamination is certain.”

BRENTFORD UNION.

PAUPER INFANTS.

Letters to the Times Newspaper.

“SIR,—Facts are often more startling than fiction. At the present moment (I have just left them) there are in the Brentford Union, Isleworth, seventeen infants aged from eighteen months to seven years. Most of them have been there pretty well all their lives. A nurse is in

charge of them, but she has many other duties to perform, and the practical charge devolves on an old pauper of seventy-nine, called 'Granny,' and a young woman who has already had two illegitimate children, both of whom are in the workhouse. The infants have no training or education, of course. But, Sir, they live in two attics, 10 ft. high in the highest part, and 8 ft. in the lowest. Their day room is 18 ft. by 15 ft., and their night room 18 ft. by 22 ft., with a closet, smelling most offensively, opening out of one end of it. Will your readers believe it is acknowledged that these poor little creatures have not been outside these two attics for nine months? As a matter of fact, the date on which they were allowed to go into the open air is lost in obscurity, for 'Granny' has been there nine months and never knew them to leave, and no officer in the house could say when they were last out. They were healthy as far as it is possible for them to be, but the pasty complexions and pitiable little faces, some even pretty still, would, I think, melt the hardest heart.

"I need say little more. Those having children know that free air and exercise are as necessary as food to infants of this age. Surely then, if the Brentford Board of Guardians are so neglectful, it is a disgrace that this state of things has been allowed to go on so long by the Local Government Board.

"Your inserting these few lines will, I feel sure, be the most certain way of alleviating these poor little children's condition, and perhaps of stopping a like disgrace in other places.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"GEORGE C. T. BARTLEY.

"Ealing, W., *July 28, 1873.*"

"SIR,—Can you spare a few lines of space on behalf of the unfortunate Brentford pauper children.

"Your readers will remember the disclosures which were made last summer in *The Times* and in *The Lancet*, and which culminated in an official inquiry. At this the Local Government Board Inspector remarked that for fourteen years, or four years longer than the Siege of Troy, the Poor Law Board had been trying to induce the Brentford Board of Guardians to put a stop to the overcrowding which over and over again had produced virulent eruption and diseased eyes; that the Poor Law Board had urged on them to provide fitting playgrounds for the 130 children, proper drainage, proper washing arrangements, and a proper water supply, for so bad was almost everything that nothing but a radical change could be effective.

"A committee was consequently appointed by the

Brentford Board, and the result of its deliberations was that they considered nothing was needed, and in the middle of October last the Local Government Board was informed of this decision.

“Everything, therefore, remains, and is to remain, as it was. The infants are untaught, though an infant school would be health and strength both to their minds and bodies. They are huddled together in their two attics at the top of the Workhouse, with a Granny to look after them, the only change being that the old woman in charge last year is now too infirm even for this duty and her place has been supplied by a younger pauper. The elder children continue to be packed away in their overcrowded, ill-ventilated, and ill-drained premises. They are still looked after out of school hours by old paupers; they still associate with the two or three hundred social failures in the Workhouse, and they continue in fact, serving their time as apprentices to that profession of pauperism in which the chances are—thanks to our system of training—that they will remain all their lives.

“The infirmary also is as it was. At this moment, in a room 10 ft. by 13 ft., 8 ft. 6 in. in the highest part, sloping to 3 ft. 6 in. with a small window in the slope—a cupboard which we dignify by the name of the ‘Eruption ward’—a mother lies in one bed and her four little children in two other beds, all suffering from itch.

"The Local Government Board has taken at present no action on the report of our committee, though they have had it three months. It is clear that either they must acknowledge that the yearly reports of their inspectors are gross exaggerations, or they must confess that they are allowing matters to go on which are a disgrace to a civilised community. If they have not the power to enforce a change, the country, I am convinced, would give it to them at once were it asked to do so. I hope that this Session of Parliament will not pass without some steps being taken in this matter. In the interest of the 40,000 children at this moment in the workhouses of the country, as well as in that of our 130 children at Brentford, I trust you will be able to find space for this letter.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"GEORGE C. T. BARTLEY.

"Ealing, *January 7.*"

PAUPER CHILDREN IN NEW YORK.

“ THE State of New York Board of Charities, of which Professor Dwight is the President, has issued its fifth annual report. The duty of this Board is to inspect the public charities of the State and make such recommendations to the Legislature as they deem best on their management. Few who have not studied the subject can have an idea how broad is the field of work of our charities receiving aid from the State. Their property interest is enormous, amounting during the past year to 20,450,272 dols. of real estate, and 3,727,602 dols. of personal property. The aid they received from the State Treasury reached the sum of 1,635,558 dols., and from municipalities the large amount of 3,341,762 dols., while their total annual receipts were 7,832,902 dols., and their expenditure 7,259,568 dols. The whole number of persons in these institutions during the year was 92,741 ; the number temporarily relieved 98,368 ; the number receiving outside free medical and surgical aid, 294,364 ; and the number under gratuitous educational training, 70,339. In the county poor-houses alone there were during the year 18,933 and in the city institutions 39,286 persons. The houses of refuge trained and sheltered 5,619 of our youth, the Catholic Protectory containing

much the largest number—2,380. Of idiots, 681 were specially cared for, and of inebriates 315 in the Binghamton Asylum. The number of deaf and dumb instructed and relieved was 714; of blind 549; of insane, 5,073. [The population of the State approaches 4,500,000.] The report of Professor Dwight in regard to the management of our county poor-houses contains suggestions of the highest value. It is well known that when this Board began its labours the condition of these misnamed houses of charity was shocking in the extreme. There was but little classification, and one of the most terrible diseases which can afflict a civilised community began to break out here in our rural districts—hereditary pauperism. The Secretary of the State Board visited one almshouse in Western New York where four generations of females were prostitutes and paupers. Even at this time, in the Westchester Almshouse, there are two or three generations of paupers. The first great step of reform in the State was the classification of the insane, and the withdrawal of large numbers from the country poor-houses and the placing them in the State Willard Asylum, on Seneca Lake. Still another important measure was the separation of the pauper children in Broome County and several adjoining counties from the almshouses, and placing them in an institution near Binghamton, called the Susquehanna Valley Home.

This wise measure, however, should at once be imitated in all parts of the State. A poor-house is no place for children. They catch the bad habits of the institution, and they grow up lazy and dependent. There is no excuse in this country for retaining a single child in a poor-house. The demand everywhere for children's labour is beyond all supply, and thousands of homes are open to shelter and instruct such unfortunate children. We trust that an Act will pass during this Session of the Legislature requiring the superintendents of the poor in the various counties to place their pauper children in intermediate houses like the Susquehanna Valley Home, which institutions shall be under State and private management. Every five counties should be allowed a 'Children's Home,' and the counties need not be required to pay any more for the support of the children than they do now. Then each home should be required to place out very carefully every sound pauper child after a six months' residence. Professor Dwight also recommends, very wisely, the establishment of 'Industrial Almshouses.' Our county poor-houses are now full of able-bodied paupers. Each winter they sail in there for harbour. They ought to be made to support themselves. As it is now the county paupers of the State only pay one-fifth of their cost, or about 32,342 dols. If State work-houses were established these county able-bodied paupers

could be separated, classified, and made to earn their living. Then the county houses could be limited to the sick, aged, and helpless. All that considerable class, moreover, who commit minor offences, and are put for short periods in county gaols, ought to be placed where they would support themselves, and at the same time learn some useful branch of industry. At present these petty criminals spend their time in complete idleness in the county gaols, and go out worse than they entered. To improve this class there should be a separate department in the State workhouses proposed, and the criminal statutes should be changed, so that the magistrates could commit them to these, and for longer terms than is at present the custom."—*New York Times*.

THE ADVANTAGES AND SUCCESSFUL RESULTS OF THE SYSTEM OF BOARDING OUT PAUPER CHILDREN IN CAREFULLY SELECTED AND INSPECTED COTTAGE HOMES.

THIS system has for about thirty years been in extensive adoption in Scotland and with excellent results. In Ireland it has been increasingly put in practice for ten years past. Many counties of England and Wales have more recently adopted it :—

“ Mr. James Brown, Inspector of the poor at Paisley, writes to Mr. William Tallack, the Secretary of the Howard Association (January, 1872) most favourably of the Scotch experience of boarding-out. He adds :—‘ I don’t imagine that we shall ever think of returning to institutional training. Under the most favourable circumstances, institutional training must be defective, and as far as my experience goes, nothing can compensate for the absence of the salutary influences of family ties, individual liberty, and familiarity with *the ordinary every day duties and conditions of life.*’ ”

As to Edinburgh and its long continuing successful practice of Boarding-out, the following letter has been addressed by Mr. Greig, Inspector of the Poor for the City Parish of Edinburgh, to Mr. William Tallack, of London (a Member of the National Committee for Promoting the Boarding-out of Pauper Orphans) :—

“CITY PARISH CHAMBER,

“2, FOREST ROAD,

“EDINBURGH, *November 25th*, 1874.

“DEAR SIR,

“I was favoured with yours of the 19th instant. I think Mr. Anderson (in his work on the Boarding-out system in Scotland) gives a very faithful description of our children boarded-out and the results. Mrs. Nassau Senior made an examination of one or two of our districts, and I think she corroborates Mr. Anderson in her recent Report to the English Local Government Board.

“I have no Report on the subject, but I send you

appended a statement* showing the cost of our boarded-out children. I may mention that 'travelling expenses,' &c., includes the travelling expenses of my assistant, who visits all the children AT LEAST EIGHT TIMES A YEAR, and my own and small committees of the Board, who visit them all once a year. Our allowance to the nurses for each child's board, &c., is 3*s.* a week. The system has been in operation here in a limited degree for a great many years, and AS AT PRESENT FOR TWENTY-EIGHT YEARS. I have had the conduct of it for twenty years, and have carefully watched for good and *bad* results.

"We have just now 280 children out—consisting of orphans deserted and separated from their parents—being the fewest we have had these twenty years back ; and I can testify that our system does neither encourage bastardy nor desertion. I *know* it *discourages* the latter,

* The statement referred to is as follows :—

Cost of Children boarded out by Edinburgh Parish, year ending May 15th, 1874.

The average cost of 294 children boarded out during the year has been—

For Board	£7	16	0
For Education ...	0	10	9
For Clothing	1	12	0
For Travelling Expenses, Superintendence, and Removals.....	0	11	2
For Medical Attendance	0	2	7
	<hr/>		
	£10	12	6

Or 4*s.* 1*d.* per week.

as I have tested the point. In this way: A woman deserts her children, they are admitted to the house; visitors are allowed to see inmates for an hour every Saturday. The mother, by this means, always hears of her children's welfare. I have, however, removed them to the country, giving no information of their whereabouts, when the mother speedily turned up and demanded delivery of her children. Then as to increasing pauperism: We have children—pretty big ones—of the third generation on the out-door roll; but in all my experience not *one* of the boarded-out children, unless from bodily disease. We have had two or three such, between twenty and thirty years of age, from consumption.

“I may say, in regard to bastardy, that it prevails most in Kirkcudbright and Banff and Aberdeenshires, and the system of boarding-out is *not* in operation in these localities to any extent deserving notice, excepting in the City of Aberdeen, and I therefore cannot think there is any more reason for blaming the Boarding-out System for our bastardy disgrace than that we have high mountains, damp climate or any other thing objectors like Professor Fawcett might think of. Many Scotsmen have tried to discover the cause of bastardy and to check it. My friend, Dr. Begg, is sure it is the Bothy System and bad cottages, and though he is very zealous to discover

the cause, I am quite certain he would never think of the Boarding-out System. It gives no encouragement to mothers, and by the good moral training of the children there is less chance of their going astray. Not one of my boarded-out girls, during the last twenty years, has returned with any illegitimate children.

“In visiting the nurses lately, with members of the Board, we received much gratifying information as to the conduct of the children who had been boarded-out. One young man regularly sent £1 each term to his former nurse to help pay her rent. Another had brought his wife and family to lodge with his former nurse during his holidays. Another was about to marry his former nurse’s daughter, and she told us she was very proud of him. A well-dressed man called on me the other day, in great distress, to say his old nurse had died that he was to bury her, but I would have to get another nurse for the children now with her. This man is a baker, and the nurse told us before that he *never* forgot her.

“We have a fine, healthy poorhouse, and we feed well ; yet those casual children we have there (generally about forty) suffer very much, as I see Mrs. Senior and others mention they do in London ; but our boarded-out children sent out from the earliest age, are healthy and active, generally the best scholars in the schools, and

they get on so well that we are surprised at the number of *theories* raised against the system in England. If the Professor, instead of theorising, would allow Mrs. Fawcett to take charge of a few boarded-out children, I have no fear but that in the course of a year or two she would tell him his *theories* are *all* wrong, because she has had the *practice* all the other way.

“I am, yours faithfully,

“G. GREIG.”

“In Ireland, also, a long and extensive experience of boarding-out appears to point to general success. In 1866, very few Irish children were placed out. In 1873, there were 1,535, averaging £7 6s. 4d. per annum each.

“The exclamation may be made, ‘However can children be healthfully maintained and cared for, at a rate under 5s. per week each?’ The answer is afforded by the results. It *is* done. And, generally speaking the Scotch, Irish, and English children, placed out at this rate, are more comfortable, more kindly treated, more healthy, and turn out morally better, than those on whom from 7s. 6d. to 15s. per week is expended in large institutions where most of the money goes in salaries and cost of buildings.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DELAWARR.

In the House of Lords, June 23rd, 1874,
the Earl of Delawarr said—

“That the average cost of a child in a district school was nearly 10s. a week, and that on the boarding-out system it did not exceed 5s. This system which had prevailed in Scotland for many years, had been attended with great success. There it was not confined to orphans and deserted children only, and it was stated that upwards of 7,000 were placed out to be boarded and taken care of. Mr. Henley, in a Report to the Poor Law Board in the year 1870, on this system as practised in Scotland, says—

“‘Boarded-out children certainly acquire a more robust constitution, and apparently greater mental activity, than children reared in an ordinary workhouse, and these two points strike at the very root of pauperism, as the majority who fall upon the rates do so from mental or physical weakness.’

“He ventured to think that the facts to which he had thus briefly referred, which were only a few out of many, would recommend the system to more general adoption if the advantages in a physical, moral, and economical point of view were better known, and if it was more fully sanctioned by the Local Government Board.

CONDITIONS OF BOARDING-OUT.

“The gratifying success that has attended the boarding-out system in such places as Birmingham, Clifton (Bristol), Wigton (Cumberland), Windermere, Swindon, Manchester, Liverpool, Bath, Calverton, &c., is in great degree attributable to the kind and practical oversight exercised by a few persons in each place (few are *better* than many) *perseveringly* watchful and ‘up to the mark of doing their duty by the children *continuously*.’

“Pauper children may only be boarded-out at a *distance* from their own Union with the consent of the ‘Local Government Board’ in London, and any Committee undertaking their oversight must obtain the sanction of that central Board. But Guardians are at liberty to board-out children in their *own* parishes or Unions at once. And the Committees formed for the oversight of *these* children *need not wait for any other sanction than that of the Guardians of their own Union*. It is most desirable that no children should, in any case, be boarded-out, unless a suitable Local Committee (chiefly of ladies) is willing to undertake (and report) periodically the oversight of each child in its cottage home, and also *to see that it is regularly sent to a day-school*. The Guardians are authorised to pay for clothing, schooling, and medical attendance, in *addition* to the usual sum of about 3s. 6d. per week for board. Suitable homes may be found

amongst small shop-keepers, policemen, married labourers of long-known good character, and married servants from respectable families."

THE POST-OFFICE SERVANTS' ORPHAN HOME.

"Instead of making a large preliminary outlay on buildings and a staff of officers, the Committee of the 'Post Office Orphans' Home' have, after careful inquiry, adopted the system of boarding-out their children 'with carefully selected foster-parents, who are under the supervision of the Committee, whereby,' they add (and the remark is worthy of Poor Law Guardians' notice), 'the great expense of maintaining an establishment is altogether avoided.' The Chairman of that Committee (Thomas Boucher, Esq., G.P.O.), at the annual meeting in 1873 expressed for himself and his colleagues, a warm approval of 'placing orphan children in comfortable homes, with foster-parents, under whose guidance and care *they can be better trained and fitted for the duties of life than under the cold and formal discipline of a large establishment.*

RECENT SERVICES OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD.

The following extract is a just tribute to the efforts of several of the late Presidents of the Local Government Board :—

"Whilst much remains to be improved in connection

with the Poor Law System, both as applied to adults and children, it is but fair to acknowledge the valuable and important advances in this direction, made of late years by the Local Government Board under its successive Presidents :—

“To lessen pauperism and to improve the treatment of the poor in a variety of ways, as for example by discouraging excessive out-door relief, by diminishing the number of able-bodied paupers, by increasing the comforts of the aged and invalid poor, by extending the separate infirmary system, by affording some facilities for the training of skilled nurses, by a commencement of endeavours to supplement official aid to the poor by private voluntary supervision (on the Elberfeld system), and by some provision for the visitation of young persons after leaving Unions and Union Schools. These and other excellent endeavours of the Local Government Board, claim a respectful tribute of thankful satisfaction from the public. And they also furnish a good reason for hoping that the work thus carried on in various departments, may also, and at an early period, be effectually extended to that class of the poor who have a very special claim upon their kindly consideration and beneficent efforts—those children, especially young girls, who have been rendered orphans and helpless by the death of their natural protectors and caretakers.”

Mrs. Senior, after lately visiting numbers of boarded-out children in various parts of England, Wales, and Scotland, remarks comprehensively :—

“No case of ophthalmia or ringworm was to be found among the boarded-out children whom I saw, and they grow and strengthen in a remarkable way.” She visited, amongst others, the Scotch boarded-out children. Of 24 in one village she reports, *“I never saw a finer set of children.”* Yet the total cost of the Scotch children for board, maintenance, and education is under 4s. per week. The total cost of 65 children boarded-out last year from Birmingham Union was 3s. 11d. per head per week, *with no death in the year and improved health.*

“Mr. Mozley, a Government Inspector, states that in his district the only failures of the boarding-out system have occurred ‘where it has been managed *solely by the Guardians,*’ and not, as in most districts, by joint committees of guardians *and ladies.*”

CUMBERLAND.

The High Sheriff of Cumberland (George Moore, Esq.) states, in a letter dated Feb. 15, 1872 :—

“Two years ago I introduced this subject to the

boards of the several unions in Cumberland, and went round to enquire personally, and see how far it might be possible that thoroughly trustworthy people could be found to take charge of these poor children, so that they might be removed from the contaminating influences of our workhouses. I am now happy to be in a position to state that these efforts were most successful, and that now the several unions, more particularly those of Carlisle, Wigton, and Cockermouth, have a large number of children who are boarded out under the system ; *and it is working most admirably in this county.* I sincerely trust that it may be extended throughout the kingdom." This letter was accompanied by a bundle of vouchers in the form of quarterly reports of schoolmasters, relieving officers, and others, who had regularly visited the children in the homes of their foster parents.

LANCASHIRE.

Rev. Canon Worthy, Secretary of Euxton (Roman Catholic) Boarding-out Committee, Chorley, wrote to Mr. Peek, 1872 :—

"The boarding-out system is an invaluable blessing to the orphan child."

R. E. Stolterfoht, Esq., of Sandown Park, Wavertree, wrote (1872) :—

“The system has recommended itself more and more to our approval. The improvement both in the health and intelligence of the children being in each case very great, the foster parents evincing real interest and affection for the children. One singular circumstance was that *all* the children, on reception, suffered from weak eyes, or chronic head-colds.”

BATH.

“The Rev. Prebendary Buckle (Vicar of Twerton) and ex-Chairman of Bath Board of Guardians, writes, July 1st, 1874, that there are at present twenty children boarded-out by Bath Guardians. ‘The experience, which now extends over five years, brings an increasing conviction to those who have watched it, that the plan is a good one, and that the majority of the children who come under it reap from it the benefits which had been anticipated.’ He adds, ‘The tie established between the children and their foster-parents has a tendency to become an enduring one.’”

Colonel C. W. Grant (a Bath Guardian)
writes, July 10, 1874 :—

“I believe the system to be an excellent one, undoubtedly to the benefit of the poor children, and also the ratepayers, when properly carried out. But I do not

think we should expect never to have any failures. We must remember that, too frequently, these 'children's teeth have been set on edge by the sour grapes their father's have eaten,' and that there is a great deal to undo and to be untaught."

CALVERTON (BUCKS).

"Rev. W. P. Trevelyan, of Calverton, writes (June 19th, 1874), after three years' oversight of children, from London, boarded out in his parish, 'I am more than ever satisfied of the value of the Boarding-out System; and all that have had the opportunity of seeing it in operation must see what a blessing it would be to this country if it was generally adopted.' 'The children are very happy. This they express in their faces.'"

Rev. H. Wood (Calverton) states (June 23rd, 1874) :—

"In all cases the personal comfort and habits of the children located here appear to be well cared for by the foster-parents, and a genuine kind interest felt in them. They are neatly and well dressed, without finery on the one hand, or meanness on the other." He remarks, "Workhouses and larger orphan schools are places of refuge indeed, but inevitably deficient in those attributes *which alone constitute a home.* The contrast as I have

witnessed it here, when children drawn from the large pauper schools are placed in a family in the country, cared for by the foster-parents with their own children, fed, clothed, and sent regularly to school and to public worship, is truly refreshing to contemplate." "It is a system in agreement with that wisdom and goodness of God which have, from the first, 'set the solitary in families.' And this has proved itself already to be *one of the very best plans for the prevention of crime* and for lifting up the lowest classes to respectability and honour."

OBJECTIONS TO BOARDING-OUT.

"Some few persons (as Professor Fawcett) have objected against the system that it tends to foster pauperism, illegitimacy, and desertion. As to the first, it must surely be a greater encouragement to paupers to spend 7s., 10s., or 15s. per week on each child in a costly district school than 4s. or 5s. in a cottage home. [Reckoning that boarding-out only saves 2s. 6d. per child per week, £40,000 a year would be saved to the metropolitan rate-payers by boarding out their 4,000 girls and 2,000 younger boys (under ten years). There would still remain nearly 3,000 elder boys in the district schools.] As to the illegitimacy, the system has been much longer and more extensively in vogue in Ireland than in England, and the ratio of illegitimacy is only half in Ireland

as compared with England. It is somewhat higher in Scotland, but there it is to be attributed to various local causes, such as, for example, the wretched 'bothie' system by which farm servants of both sexes are improperly associated at night, away from supervision. As to the desertion of children it has repeatedly been found, that those about to be removed from Unions to cottage homes have at once been claimed by their relatives. Nor has the system in practice produced desertion. At Bath, for example, no deserted child was received at the Union for more than three years after the adoption of the boarding-out plan."



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ERRATA.

- Page 6.—Line 13, read “shrunk” for “shrank.”
,, 7.—Line 19, read “exist” for “exists.”
,, 22.—Line 11, read “be” for “is.”
,, 26.—Line 10, read “Philanthropy” for
“Philanthrophy.”
,, 38.—Line 18, read “his” for “their.”
,, 63.—Line 5, read “Anerley” for “Anerly.”
,, 76.—Line 6, read “the” for “its.”
,, 84.—Line 17, read “guardians’ for “guardian’s.”
,, 86.—Line 9, read “it’s” for “their.”
,, 129.—Line 7, read “Relief of the Poor” for
“Relief of Poor.”

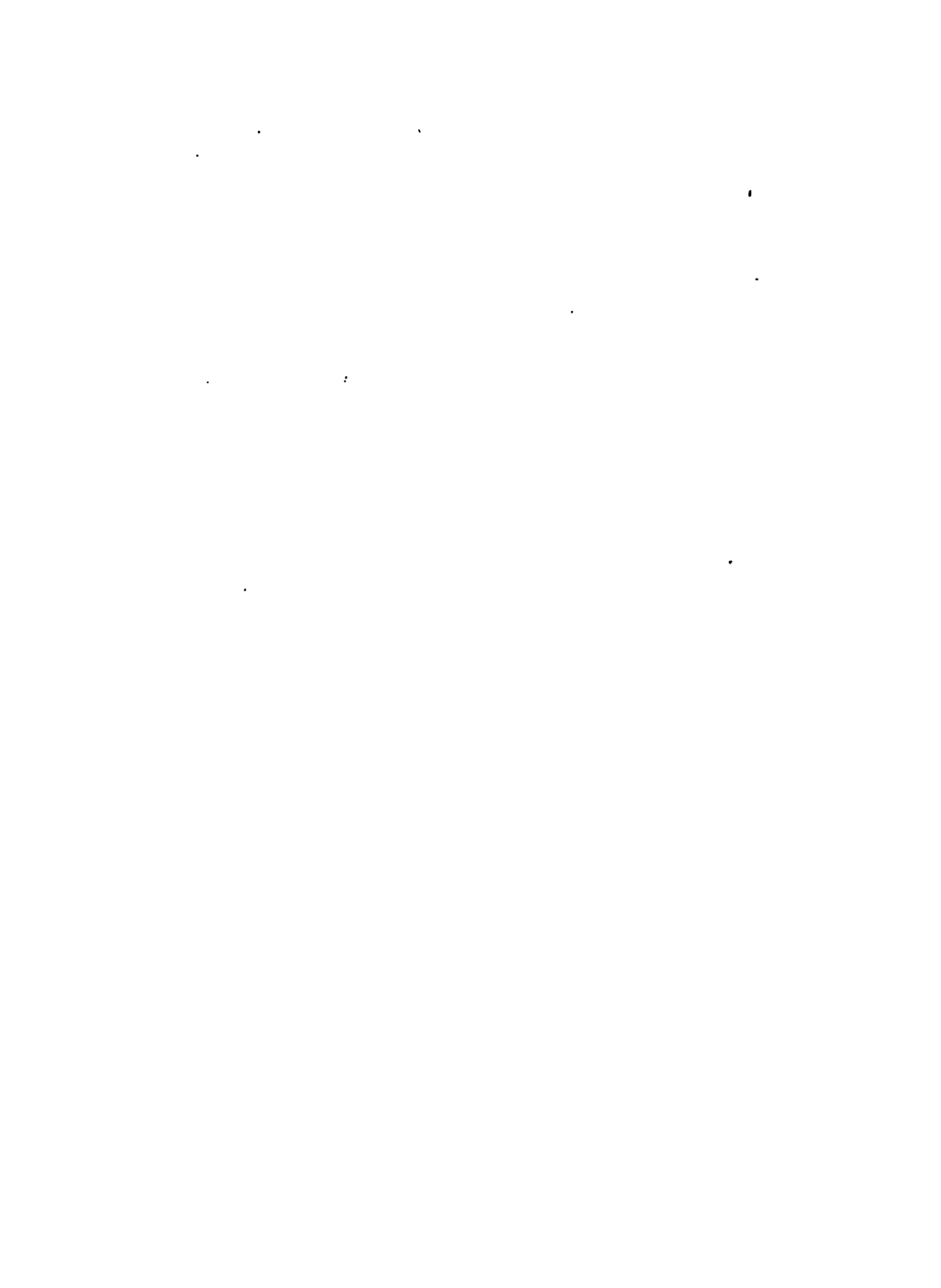
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